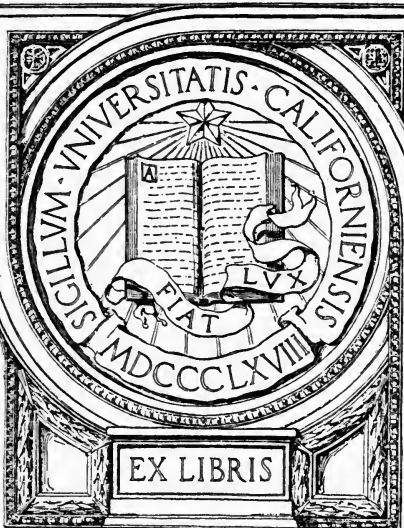




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A black and white engraving of a man in a military uniform, likely a general, with epaulettes and a high collar. The man has a high forehead, receding hair, and a serious expression. He is wearing a dark, double-breasted coat with large buttons and ornate epaulettes featuring stars and fringes. A white cravat is visible at his neck. The background is a dark, textured grey.

*C. P. Mendenhall*



THE LIFE  
OF  
MAJOR-GENERAL  
PETER MUHLENBERG  
OF THE  
REVOLUTIONARY ARMY.

BY  
HENRY A. MUHLENBERG.

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PHILADELPHIA:  
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TO  
JARED SPARKS, ESQ.,  
THE FOLLOWING PAGES ARE INSCRIBED,  
AS A TOKEN OF RESPECT,  
FOR ONE WHO HAS DEVOTED HIS LIFE  
TO THE ELUCIDATION  
OF OUR REVOLUTIONARY HISTORY.



## P R E F A C E.

---

IN submitting the following pages to the public, the author may be permitted to hope that his trifling contribution to the Revolutionary history of the country will not be received with disfavour. A belief that the materials were of some value, was the first inducement to publication. The second, was the wish to place the services of General Muhlenberg in their proper light ; in doing which, however, he has constantly endeavoured to avoid being biassed by the natural prejudice in favour of a relative. The work itself will show that he has anxiously consulted all accessible authorities, and at least endeavoured to draw from them impartial conclusions.

Much of the matter referring to the Virginia campaigns has been hitherto unpublished, that part of the war having been much neglected by historians. The materials here collected may therefore in some measure aid future writers.

In conclusion, the author wishes to return his sincere thanks to those persons who have kindly aided him with the MS. collections in their possession. His acknowledgments are especially due to the Hon. James Buchanan, for permitting a full examination of the Washington Papers, in the Department of State ; to P. M. Nightingale, Esq., of Georgia, for copies of portions of General Greene's Papers ; and to the librarian of the New York Historical Society, for access to the valuable MS. collections of the Society.

Among the many applications of this kind he has been necessarily obliged to make, he is happy to say that in but two instances has he been met with a refusal.

He also gratefully acknowledges his obligations to F. A. Muhlenberg, Esq., of Lancaster, whose aid in the collection of materials has been invaluable.

READING, Aug. 1, 1848.

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M E M O I R  
OF  
GENERAL MUHLENBERG.

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CHAPTER I.

Introductory Remarks—Birth—Account of his Family—Condition of German Emigrants in America—Want of Religious Instruction—Arrival of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg—His Character—His Influence over the Germans—Education of the Son—Sent to the University of Halle—His Conduct there—Expelled, and Enlists in a Regiment of Dragoons—Anecdote of the Battle of Brandywine—Returns to America—Studies Theology—Is Ordained—Stationed in New Jersey—His Marriage—Is called to Virginia—Reasons for new Ordination—Sails for England—His Ordination—Stay in London—Return to America.

It is a pious duty to rescue the memory of the great and good men who achieved our independence, from that oblivion into which it is fast falling. Year after year as it rolls by, diminishes the still surviving number of their followers, and their equals and companions have, without an exception, gone to their long homes. Thus many important facts

and incidents of that great struggle, which lived only in the memory of their actors, have been lost for ever, and those still preserved by tradition, will soon share the same fate, unless the attempt at preservation be now made.

The destroying hand of time too, has been laid heavily upon the less perishable remains of the Revolution. The written documents of that period, preserved with scrupulous care by their original possessors, have in many instances fallen into the hands of those by whom their value is not appreciated, often not understood. Few remain of the numerous collections of these invaluable papers, which must have existed throughout the whole country at the close of the war. Many have already perished under the combined influence of ignorance and carelessness, and the same causes are rapidly producing the destruction of the remnant still in existence. If then, the still unwritten history of those dark and gloomy times is to be preserved—if the American people are anxious to record the devotion and gallant services of those who perilled everything in their cause—the work can be no longer delayed.

The most prominent leaders of the Revolution

can never be forgotten whilst a page of history remains. Their deeds, their name and fame, are written in the annals of the world. All mankind revere the name of a Washington, or a Lafayette, and exult that their race could produce such MEN. Their position gave them celebrity, their acts immortality; but without the first they might have lived and died unhonoured and unknown. There were others, to whom fortune denied such opportunity. Brave and gallant, skilful and experienced as they undoubtedly were, yielding to none in devotion to the great cause, and in sacrifices for its sake, their inferior rank prevented their services from being so extensively known, and receiving their due meed of applause.

These men appeal to their country for justice. For her they sacrificed everything; she then should revere and cherish their memory. The names of Washington, Lafayette, and Greene, are the property of the world; those of Steuben, Sullivan, Morgan, Muhlenberg, Reed, Knox, Weedon, and many others, are more exclusively that of the American people. Yet the memory of their acts, their fame and their very names are fast perishing among the people for whom they sacrificed so much, and were it not for sketches like the present, in a few

years more they would be forgotten, or at most remembered only by a single anecdote of some gallant act or bold speech. Yet in their day these men filled a large space in the public esteem, and gratitude as well as justice imperatively demands that their services should not be forgotten.

That trait too of the Anglo-Saxon character, which delights in heaping honours and rewards upon the head of the successful leader, whilst it seems studiously to court forgetfulness of all inferior objects, is too common among Americans. The German and French *people* act more justly in this respect, and the memory of the lieutenants of their great commanders is cherished with almost equal veneration. Their deeds are remembered by the nations they served, not appropriated to build up a colossal reputation for their chief. Thus in the memory of the people, Napoleon and Frederick are surrounded by a brilliant circle of subordinates, whilst Wellington stands almost alone. This mode of thinking has retarded very much the minute elucidation of our Revolutionary history, and caused losses not now to be repaired.

In this spirit then the following pages are written. There will be found in them no attempt to detract from the just reputation of any one, but a simple



effort is made to do justice to the character and acts of one of the inferior general officers of the Revolution, who served his country well and faithfully. If success attend his efforts in this respect, the writer will have accomplished all he desired; and if in addition the hitherto unpublished documents in his plain narrative, should throw new light upon any portion of our Revolutionary History, he will be more than amply repaid for his labour.

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The subject of the present memoir, JOHN PETER GABRIEL MUHLENBERG, afterwards a Major-General in the army of the Revolution, was born October 1, 1746, at the village of the Trappe, in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. His father, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, D.D., the founder of the Lutheran Church in America, emigrated from Germany in the year 1742. Shortly after his arrival he led to the altar, Anna, a daughter of Col. Conrad Weiser, a celebrated officer and Indian agent, in the provincial history of Pennsylvania. Of this union Peter was the eldest child.

His future history is so intimately connected with

that of the German population of Virginia and Pennsylvania, and his influence over them, always exerted in the cause of liberty, was so great, that it will be proper to seek its cause. To do this, a brief reference to the earlier history of the family will be necessary.

As early as the year 1700, the tide of German emigration commenced swelling towards the new world. With each year it increased, and as the descendants of the earlier emigrants clung with a tenacity peculiarly German to the language, manners and customs of their forefathers, in a few years the German population of Pennsylvania, and other of the Middle States, became numerous and widely scattered. But the emigrants were for the most part in humble circumstances, and settled as they were on the dividing line between civilized and savage life, exposed daily and almost hourly to the incursions of hostile Indians, their situation and comforts did not improve with their increasing numbers. The most grievous of their deprivations, however, was the want of that religious instruction to which they had been accustomed from early childhood.

The Germans are an essentially religious people,

and these early emigrants, generally followers of Luther, seem to have been peculiarly sensitive upon this subject. Separated from the world, and from human aid, buried in interminable forests, it is but natural that their religious feeling should have been strengthened by their situation, and that like the Puritans they should have put their trust in the Lord of Hosts and in Him alone. Certain it is that their destitute condition in this respect, weighed upon them more heavily than the want of any of the comforts of civilized life.

Accordingly we find their early correspondence with their brethren in Germany, filled with complaints upon this head, and with requests that the rulers of the church should send them proper pastors. Nor is this to be wondered at, for among the many thousand Germans scattered throughout the colonies, prior to the year 1740, there was not to be found a single clergyman; or (with perhaps one or two exceptions,) a single permanent place of worship. Wandering outcasts there were, it is true, whose assumption of the sacred garb only served to bring religion into disrepute, and to sow dissensions among the members of the church; but no properly ordained minister had as yet come among

these poor exiles, to give them that spiritual instruction, the want of which they so severely felt. This state of things too, was beginning to exert its influence upon the younger members of these communities, and it was feared that in a short time the devotional spirit, which is the most beautiful characteristic of the German race, would be utterly extinct among them.

In the mean time, however, the situation of the Germans in America, was exciting much interest among their fellow Lutherans in Germany, and that the desired aid was not sooner extended, was in great part owing to the difficulty of selecting a person willing to accept the trust, and at the same time possessed of the proper qualifications. These were required necessarily to be of a high order. Dissensions were to be healed, improper persons, who had gathered congregations, were to be removed; and the Swedish, as well as the German Lutherans, were to be placed under his guidance.

At length the choice of the church fell upon Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, an alumnus of Göttingen, and at that time residing at the University of Halle. His family was originally Saxon, but like many of the earlier followers of Luther, suffered

heavily in the Thirty Years' War, and becoming impoverished, removed to Eimbeck, in Hanover; then a free city of the Empire. Here, in the year 1711, Henry was born. The early death of his father, who held a judicial post, upon which the support of his family depended, arrested his education at a most critical period; but the deep-toned piety of the boy, and his love of learning, were not to be repressed by adversity, his conduct soon raising him up friends whose kindness enabled him to pursue the course originally designed for him. In this school of domestic affliction, were formed those marked traits of character, that mixture of Christian humility with courageous energy and stern determination of purpose, which so much distinguished his after life.

In the year 1735, he entered the University of Göttingen, where his merits as a scholar attracted the favourable notice of Gesner, and his active practical piety, devoting itself to the illumination of the most neglected portion of the community, procured him the grateful acknowledgment of the heads of the University. His conduct here gained him powerful friends, among whom were Count Reuss XXIV., whose chaplain he was; and Count

Erdman Henkel, by whose advice he, after his graduation, removed to Halle. At the latter place he formed the most intimate relations with the authorities of that university; with Frankè, Cellarius, and the Inspector Fabricius, who were at that time among the most distinguished lights of the church. By their advice he consented to accept the charge offered him in America, and their friendship cheered and enlivened his after life in his arduous mission.

In the spring of 1742, he left Halle for London, where he found an old friend, Dr. Ziegenhagen, who as the private chaplain of George II. was enabled to further materially the objects of his mission. In September he arrived at Charleston, S. C., and finally, after a dangerous and disagreeable journey, reached his charge in Philadelphia, Nov. 25, 1742.

His arrival was a source of unlimited joy to the Germans, who had been so long expecting him. They saw themselves at last gathered together under the charge of a priest consecrated to the service of God according to the forms of their fathers; and a more intimate knowledge of the man, only served to strengthen the love and veneration with

which his calling inspired them.<sup>1</sup> Here is not the place to recite his labours, his sufferings, and his success; suffice it to say that he laboured most assiduously in his vocation, visiting all parts of the country, from New York to Georgia, wherever any scattered portions of his charge were to be found; everywhere healing dissensions, relieving the afflicted, and preaching the Gospel to those who had been so long deprived of that blessing. Nothing deterred him from his duty. On the frontiers his life was frequently in danger from the hostile Indians, who had swept through his congregations with fire and sword; and oftentimes his skill in surgery was used to cure these poor victims of barbarity.<sup>2</sup> His education fitted him peculiarly for the duties he was obliged to perform. A ripe theologian, he was at the same time otherwise a highly educated man, and preached in all the languages then spoken on this continent. In New York he frequently addressed English, German, and Low Dutch congregations, each in their own language, upon the same day. But great as were his qualifications in this respect, they were exceeded by those with which nature had endowed him, and which were far more important to the success of his la-

bours. Mild and gentle, he yet possessed firmness and an integrity of purpose, which naught could move. Eloquent, he could perfectly adapt his style of speaking to his auditory, and either rivet the attention of a synod, or melt the heart of the wild frontier-man. Just, the churches throughout the whole land, and even their individual members, appealed to his decision in case of dispute, and his word was law. Withal an humble and sincere Christian, illustrating his precepts in his daily life, he was a father to the fatherless, and his charity and good counsels were freely extended to all who sought them.

That such a man should have won the devoted love of all who knew him is not strange, and accordingly we find that the esteem and veneration felt for him by the congregations of his creed was unbounded. They bestowed upon him the affectionate name of "Father Muhlenberg,"<sup>3</sup> a name by which he is still known among the Lutherans of this country, and he retained his position as head of the church which he had founded, during the whole of his long and useful life. Among the Germans his influence was especially great. He was their countryman, and needing, they received most of his



paternal care, which they repaid with the strongest affection for himself and his children. This influence was always exerted for his country, both by himself and his sons, and it will hereafter be found to have had much effect upon the career of the subject of this memoir.

Peter, as has already been stated, was born in Montgomery County. His father had resided in Philadelphia from the date of his disembarkation, until the year 1745, when the arrival of other ministers from Germany enabled him to give up the congregations in the city, and bestow more of his attention to the affairs of the church generally. He therefore removed to the Trappe, where the largest and most flourishing of the Lutheran churches was then situated. Thus Peter was emphatically a country boy, and soon became skilled in all vigorous and athletic exercises, for which he seems to have had a natural aptness. From his father's peculiar position, as well perhaps as from his mode of thinking, the son was destined almost from the cradle for the ministerial office, and in pursuance of that design, great pains were taken with his early education. It was conducted under the immediate supervision of his father, until the removal of the

family to Philadelphia, which occurred in the year 1761. Here he was entered at the academy under the care of the Provost, Dr. Smith, where he remained a few years. The system of education, however, at that time in this country, was extremely limited, and his father soon found it necessary to make preparations for sending him with his brothers to Europe. As early as the fall of 1762, we find Dr. Muhlenberg in correspondence with the Rev. Mr. Duchè, at that time junior minister of the High Church in Philadelphia, who intended shortly visiting England, and who had promised to take charge of Peter during the voyage. The journey of Mr. Duchè was however prevented at that time, and the opportunity, then rare between the two countries, was lost. In the spring of 1763 another offer presented itself; Chief Justice Allen, long a resident of Philadelphia, and an intimate friend of Dr. Muhlenberg, was about returning to England, and kindly consented to take charge of his sons that far upon their journey.

On the 27th of April, 1763, Peter, then sixteen years old, with his two younger brothers, Frederick and Henry, embarked on board the packet ship, Captain Budden, and left Philadelphia for London.

There, as all were extremely young, they were to be put under the care of Dr. Ziegenhagen, who undertook to send them to Halle, their place of destination. Once arrived at the latter place, the want of paternal care would be fully supplied by the attention of the many friends their father had made during his sojourn at that university. On the 15th of June they arrived in London, and after a short stay departed via Rotterdam for Halle, where they arrived in the fall of the same year. Here they entered the preparatory department, being not yet sufficiently advanced to become members of the University.

The following characteristic extract of a letter from his father to Dr. Ziegenhagen, dated Oct. 27, 1763, gives a general outline of the boy's character, and shows his apprehension, afterwards realized, that Peter would prove a troublesome subject. "My son Peter has alas enjoyed but little of my care and control, on account of my extensive official duties, but he has had no evil example from his parents, and many reproofs and counsels. His chief fault and bad inclination, has been his fondness for hunting and fishing. But if our most reverend fathers at Halle observe any tendency to vice, I would

humbly beg that they send him to a well-disciplined garrison town, under the name of Peter Weiser, before he causes much trouble or complaint. There he may obey the drum if he will not follow the spirit of God. My prayers will follow him, and if his soul only is saved, be he in what condition he may, I shall be content. I well know what Satan wishes for me and mine."

These anticipations were soon realized. Perhaps the young Americans were looked upon as demi-savages by their German fellow-students, and perhaps Peter's disposition was too fiery to submit to the strict discipline of a German school, at that time strict even to the verge of cruelty. Be that as it may, whether caused by one or the other reason, or by a combination of both, Peter was continually in trouble. Things went on from bad to worse, until some time in the year 1764, upon the occasion of a public procession in the presence of the heads of the University, some insult was offered him by his tutor, which his hot temper would not brook, and it was avenged upon the spot by a blow.

This outrage rendered his expulsion inevitable. He did not, however, wait for its official notification, but collecting his little property, fled from the

University. A regiment of dragoons was passing through the town, in which upon the spur of the moment he enlisted, little thinking that his father had recommended that very remedy to cool his hot blood. Although not eighteen, he was tall and well proportioned, and so desirable a recruit was readily accepted. He thus left the University, little caring what became of him, so rejoiced was he in being freed from what he deemed the tyranny of proctors and provosts.

The precise length of time he remained with this regiment the writer has no means of ascertaining. He must, however, have fully upheld the character he had gained at the University, as appears from the following anecdote connected with this regiment, related by himself, and still preserved as a family tradition. Ten or eleven years after, the battle of Brandywine was fought. In that action General Muhlenberg commanded a brigade of Virginians, which with Weedon's was thrown forward at the close of that hardfought day, to repel the victorious advance of the enemy, and give time to our shattered columns to retreat. The struggle was at the point of the bayonet, and it so happened that this very regiment, dismounted, was one of

those opposed to Muhlenberg's command. The General, mounted upon a white horse, tall and commanding in his figure, was very conspicuous at the head of his men, leading on the long line of Continentals; when the contending parties came near enough to be recognised, many of the older soldiers (German enlistments being for life,) remembered their former comrade, and the cry ran along their astonished ranks, "Hier kommt teufel Piet!" (Here comes Devil Pete.)

Finally, however, he was freed from the obligations he had so rashly assumed, in the following manner. A colonel in the British army, whose name is unfortunately forgotten, was leaving Hanover, where he held some official appointment, for America. He had been prior to this, long stationed in that country, was a frequent visiter at the house of Dr. Muhlenberg, and knew the family and Peter well. On his journey he happened to pass through the town in which this regiment was then quartered, and to his utter surprise recognised his young American acquaintance among its soldiers. He sought him out, and learned the cause of his present position, after which, by representing the matter in its true light, as a boyish student freak, and certifying

to the respectability of his family, he easily procured his discharge. Peter took leave of his comrades, and accompanied his kind friend to America, where he arrived some time in the year 1766. This interposition was probably the most fortunate event of his life, for although his family would sooner or later have procured his discharge, yet from the rarity of intercourse, and length of time necessarily occupied, he might have remained there a year or two longer, and been utterly disqualified for any other pursuits. As it was, the occurrence had a beneficial effect upon his character and disposition, rendering him more tractable, although most probably the taste for military life here acquired, influenced his whole future career.

His father, who we may well conceive had suffered much anxiety on account of his son, in his joy at the lost being found, received him with open arms, and granted him forgiveness for, and oblivion of the past. For some time Peter remained at home, his father personally superintending the completion of his education.

It was now time for him to turn his thoughts to the selection of a profession. Had his own wishes only been consulted, he would doubtless have chosen

the army, but his father very earnestly desired that the church which he had founded in America, should be supported and sustained by the efforts of his sons. The uniform kindness which his many youthful follies had met with at his father's hands, inclined him to yield to his wishes, and accordingly he commenced the study of theology under his father's directions.

Early in the year 1768 he was ordained a minister of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, according to the rules and discipline of that sect, and on the 12th of May was appointed assistant rector of Zion's and St. Paul's churches, in New Jersey. These congregations, commonly known as the Valley Churches, were situated at New Germantown and Bedminster, in Hunterdon and Somerset Counties. On the 5th of February, in the ensuing year, he commenced officiating, and remained in that capacity for several years. Retaining his strong partiality for hunting and fishing, (the *bad inclination* referred to earlier by his father,) he became thoroughly acquainted with that part of the country, a knowledge which during the long stay of the army at Morristown, and its subsequent operations in Jersey, became of great value.



Whilst stationed in New Jersey, his marriage with Anna Barbara Meyer, took place. The ceremony was performed on the 6th of November, 1770.

For some years prior to this, the German inhabitants of the Middle States commenced emigrating in considerable numbers to Virginia, settling principally in the valley of the Blue Ridge. These German settlements gradually became large, particularly those in Dunmore, and being Lutherans, a congregation was formed at Woodstock, the seat of justice for that county. This congregation desired a pastor, and accordingly application was made to Dr. Muhlenberg to appoint one, with the request that his son might be assigned to that situation. Some difficulties, however, presented themselves. In order to meet the peculiar laws of the colony of Virginia on the subject of church establishment, these Germans had organized themselves as members of the Swedish branch of the Lutheran Church, there being no difference between that and the German, save in point of form only. Some congregations of the former existed at this very time in Pennsylvania, and were in close connexion with the Lutheran Church proper.<sup>4</sup> The Swedish

Church at the Reformation differed from the German in retaining its bishops, and their discipline required that pastors should be ordained and consecrated by a bishop. This had not been done in Mr. Muhlenberg's case, who had been ordained by his father, in accordance with the rules and discipline of the German Lutheran Church. Another obstacle arose from the union of church and state in Virginia, where the Church of England was established by law, and in order that the rector could enforce the payment of tithes, it was necessary that he should have been ordained by a Bishop of the English church, in which case he came under the provisions of the law, although not a member of the established church. To meet these difficulties it was deemed necessary that Mr. Muhlenberg should be ordained anew, according to the discipline prescribed by the Swedish Lutheran Church.

Accordingly he resigned his charge in New Jersey, and made preparations for a voyage to England, to receive Episcopal ordination, any properly consecrated Protestant Bishop being competent for the purpose. He sailed from Philadelphia for London on the 2d of March, 1772, and arrived at Dover on the 10th of the following month. During this

journey Mr. Muhlenberg kept a daily journal, now in the writer's possession, which is in many parts highly interesting; but space forbids any extracts being here made.

From this journal, however, we learn that if any scruples did exist in his mind, with respect to his profession, at the time of his entering upon the study of it, they were now entirely removed; and he seems to have been fully impressed with the serious nature of the duties he had assumed, and to have brought to their discharge a spirit of pure and humble Christianity.

His stay in London was very brief. Immediately upon his arrival he waited upon the Lord Bishop of London, by whose chaplain, the Rev. Dr. Hind, he was examined. Two other Americans were then in London upon the same errand, a Mr. Braidfoot, of Virginia, and Mr. White, afterwards the venerated Bishop White of Pennsylvania; the latter of whom had already been ordained as deacon. On account of their number, the Bishop consented to their private ordination, and after having with Mr. Braidfoot received deacon's orders from the Bishop of Ely, they were all ordained as priests on the 23d of April, 1772, at the King's Chapel, St. James's,

by the Bishop of London, who he says, "made us a very serious and eloquent oration concerning the weighty matters we had before us." On the 3d of May he preached at the German Chapel in the Savoy, before a very crowded audience, attracted doubtless by the novelty of an American divine.

During his stay in London he made many valued acquaintances and friends, among whom were the Messrs. Penn, proprietaries of his native state. He also had the pleasure of again meeting his father's friend, Dr. Ziegenhagen, the king's chaplain, who had been so kind to him during his youth. This gentleman, the journal states, made some objections to the propriety of his being ordained by a Bishop of the Church of England; a point which seems to have some force. But the discussion of a theological question would be here out of place. Another fact is also there mentioned, which is curious, as showing the change in popular sentiment, in reference to the conduct of clergymen. He states, perfectly as a matter of course, that Mr. White, Mr. Braidfoot, and himself went to the theatre to see the celebrated Garrick. How would such conduct be regarded now, by those professing to be peculiarly strict?

Some correspondence with the authorities of the Church in Sweden, transmitting to them some necessary papers, detained him a short time; after which he rapidly made his preparations for return. On the 24th of May he sailed from London, and after a very tempestuous voyage arrived in safety at Philadelphia in the latter part of July.

## CHAPTER II.

Condition of Virginia—German Population of that State—His Arrival and Residence—His Conduct in the Early Disturbances—Meeting in Dunmore County—Resolutions Passed—Elected to the House of Burgesses—Appointed Delegate to the Convention—His Course in that Body—Commencement of Hostilities—Appointed Colonel of the Eighth Virginia Regiment—Farewell Sermon at Woodstock—Success in Enlistment—Ordered to Suffolk—Conduct of Lord Dunmore—Arrival of General Lee—Ordered to North Carolina—Ordered to Charleston—Battle of Sullivan's Island—Lee's Despatch—Doubt as to Rank of the Eighth Regiment—General Lee's Letter to the Secretary of War—Resolution of Congress—Lee's Friendship—Expedition to Florida—Reason of its Failure—Ravages of Disease at Savannah—Ordered to the North—Arrives in Virginia.

THE disputes between the mother country and the Colonies were just commencing to be of intense bitterness, when Mr. Muhlenberg removed with his family from Pennsylvania, to take charge of his congregation in Virginia. The *people* of the latter state were at this time, with probably a single ex-

ception, in advance of any of their fellow countrymen in their devotion to the cause of liberty; although many of the wealthy planters, the leaders of society, and who gave it its tone, were violently opposed to any resistance to Great Britain, save that of protests and resolutions. The clergy too, almost unanimously sided with the mother country. Mr. Muhlenberg's position, therefore, was one of considerable difficulty, especially as he was a stranger but lately come among them. As was his father, however, so he was, an ardent Whig, going in his ideas of resistance far beyond what was then deemed necessary or proper, and in accordance with these views he acted.

His peculiar position gave him great facilities for the quiet and gradual propagation of his principles. The German settlers in America have always been remarkable for the clannish spirit which actuates their conduct, and at this period, when much prejudice, although most undeserved, still existed against them, it is but fair to conclude that this spirit had full sway. Thus the Germans of the Blue Ridge formed as it were a separate community, having but little intercourse with their English neighbours, and consequently inclined to take

their opinions from those among themselves, who from superior intelligence, or from position, were looked up to as leaders and guides. All who are acquainted with the German character, are aware of the great respect paid by all classes to their spiritual directors. When to this was added the fact that he was the son of the venerated "Father Muhlenberg," upon whom all of their nation and creed on this side of the Atlantic, looked in the light of a beloved parent, and was supposed to be an exponent of his opinions and wishes, we shall not be surprised at his having so rapidly acquired the influence which future events showed him to possess.

Arriving among them in the fall of 1772, sufficient time was given him before the breaking out of hostilities, to become very extensively acquainted throughout the whole Valley. His personal qualities, too, were calculated in an eminent degree, to win the confidence and affection of the people. Affable and courteous in his manners, mild in his temper, full of charity for the faults of others—these qualities, with his prepossessing appearance, soon rendered his popularity in the Valley unbounded; whilst his fondness for hunting and skill with the



rifle produced the same effect among the frontiersmen. It must be confessed, however, that the soil on which he laboured was a kindly one. Retaining a vivid remembrance of the oppressions which they and their fathers had borne in their native country, the Germans of America were by no means disposed to exchange the liberty and self-government they enjoyed, the beneficial effects of which they had already experienced, for a recurrence to the old order of things. Sharing then in the feelings of their youthful pastor, they were prepared to support and follow him enthusiastically.

The German population of Virginia was large, and its conduct in the ensuing crisis became an important element in the calculation of both parties. As its leader, Mr. Muhlenberg corresponded extensively with the prominent Whigs of the Colony, with two of whom, Washington and Henry, he was on terms of personal intimacy. With the former he had frequently hunted deer among the mountains of his district, and it is said that fond as Washington was of the rifle, and skilled in its use, on trial he found himself inferior to the Pennsylvanian. This friendship had afterwards much weight in de-

termining Mr. Muhlenberg to enter the army under his command.

Discontent in Virginia had almost reached its acmé, when the news of the passage of the Boston Port Bill in 1774, blew its smouldering embers into a bright flame, and the spirit of resistance stalked openly through the land.

Although the movement was doubtless preconcerted throughout the state, Dunmore County was one of the first to step forward, and boldly proclaim its opinions in reference to the great questions then agitating the country. It also, by the appointment of a Committee of Safety, gave itself an organization distinct from that established by colonial authority, and one which in case of necessity, could head the opposition to the royal power. Steps like these, taken as they were in almost every county in the state, went far to prepare men's minds for the greater changes which every day rendered more inevitable.

The meeting which took these steps in Dunmore, was held at Woodstock, on the 16th of June,<sup>5</sup> and as was to be expected, Mr. Muhlenberg's was the controlling spirit which governed its deliberations. For this conduct he was violently assailed by his brethren of the clergy throughout the state.

He was chosen moderator of the meeting, and afterwards as chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, reported a number highly appropriate to the occasion, and withal somewhat bolder than the tone of public opinion was then prepared entirely to sanction. As showing his opinions and language, the following extracts may not be unacceptable.

“That we will pay due submission to such acts of government, as his Majesty has a right by law to exercise over his subjects, and to such only.”

“That it is the inherent right of British subjects to be governed and taxed by representatives chosen by themselves only, and that every act of the British Parliament respecting the internal policy of America, is a dangerous and unconstitutional invasion of our rights and privileges.”

“That the enforcing the execution of the said act of Parliament by a military power, will have a necessary tendency to cause a civil war, thereby dissolving that union which has so long happily subsisted between the mother country and her colonies; and that we will most heartily and unanimously concur with our suffering brethren of Boston, and every other part of North America, that may be the immediate victim of tyranny, in pro-

moting all proper measures to avert such dreadful calamities, to procure a redress of our grievances, and to secure our common liberties."

The other resolutions are those which were common at that period, against importation from or exportation to Great Britain, against the East India Company, who are called "the servile tools of arbitrary power," and appointing a committee of safety and correspondence. The proceedings close by pledging themselves "to each other and to our country, that we will inviolably adhere to the votes of this day." The Committee of Safety and Correspondence appointed for the county, consisted of the Rev. Peter Muhlenberg, chairman, Francis Slaughter, Abraham Bird, T. Beale, John Tipton, and Abraham Bowman, Esqrs., members.

Shortly afterwards, "Peter Muhlenberg, *Clerk*," and Jonathan Clarke, Esq., were elected members of the House of Burgesses,<sup>6</sup> and at the same time appointed delegates to the State Convention,<sup>7</sup> to be held at Williamsburg, on the 1st of August following; the object of which was to take such further measures as the public safety might require, and more particularly to appoint deputies to the General Congress of the Colonies to be held at Philadelphia.

The proceedings of this Convention are too well known to require further notice here. Suffice it to state that considerable division of opinion existed, and in the resolutions which were adopted, the moderate party proved victorious. This gave much dissatisfaction to the bolder portions of the Whig party, and to none more so than to Mr. Muhlenberg, who seems to have expected great results from the action of this Convention. He had, however, with all the German delegates from the Valley, warmly supported the views of Patrick Henry, whose master mind saw clearly that the time for half-way measures had passed away. The Convention adjourned, authorizing the President, Peyton Randolph, to reassemble it if necessary.

In his disappointment at the result, Mr. Muhlenberg resolved to withdraw himself from the arena of active politics, until such time at least when the rapid progress of events would force the adoption of bolder measures. This period he plainly foresaw, could not be far distant. The following extract from a letter to his brother, dated Jan. 17, 1775, shows briefly his conduct, during the interval. "The times are getting troublesome with us, and begin to wear a hostile appearance. Independent

companies are forming in every county, and politics engross all conversation. I had thrown up my commission as chairman of the Committee of Correspondence, and of magistrate likewise; but last week we had a general election in the county for a Great Committee, according to the resolves of Congress, and I am again chosen chairman, so that, whether I choose or not, I am to be a politician."

He was right. The times were "getting troublesome," and the hour and the day in which the first great blow was to be struck in Virginia, was rapidly approaching. It was time for the disappointed of the Williamsburg Convention to gird on their armour, and prepare themselves anew for the struggle. In this crisis Mr. Muhlenberg was not found wanting.

The members of the Convention were again called together by their president, to assemble at Richmond on the 20th of March. Events had progressed rapidly since their separation, and the opinions of many had undergone considerable alteration. At the appointed time and place the Convention re-assembled; but composed as it was of the same men who at Williamsburg had already committed themselves against any forcible opposition, the re-

sult still remained doubtful. Two days were passed in fruitless discussion, and the bolder members began to be apprehensive that their meeting would be but a repetition of the Williamsburg session.

Patrick Henry, however, the leader of this branch of the Convention, was determined that, if possible, the initiative steps should now be taken. He accordingly moved his famous resolutions providing that the colony be immediately put into a state of defence. The motion was violently assailed by the moderates, and defended by Mr. Henry in a speech which will ever remain a model of true eloquence. Mr. Muhlenberg supported the resolutions most ardently, exerting all his influence in favour of their passage; and they received the votes of all the German delegates from the Valley, which in the equally divided state of the Convention, was sufficient to turn the scale. Finally, after a violent struggle, the resolutions were adopted.

This was the turning point of the contest. The Convention had gone too far to recede, for the royal Governor, Lord Dunmore, proclaimed its proceedings to be treason. It was the commencement of the revolutionary conflict in Virginia; the appeal was made to the sword, and by the sword

it was to be decided. Henceforth there could be no turning back by any Whig from the course his party had adopted. All idea of reconciliation was at an end, and their only hope was success in the impending struggle of arms.

Shortly after the adjournment of the Convention, the removal of the powder from Williamsburg and the march of Henry at the head of a number of independent companies against that place occurred. These movements resulted in the virtual abdication of Lord Dunmore; and some months later, two regiments, under the command of Colonels Henry and Woodford, were raised by the authority of the Convention, which reassembled at Richmond. The first actual conflict between the royalist and colonial forces occurred in the fall, at the Great Bridge, where the latter were commanded by Colonel Woodford; the reputation gained by whom in this action was afterwards the indirect cause of considerable trouble to the subject of this memoir.

During these movements Mr. Muhlenberg remained at home, preparing the minds of his people to take an active part in the contest now so near at hand.

Although the two regiments already raised were



sufficient for the struggle within the state against Lord Dunmore, yet now that the war had commenced in earnest, it was soon found necessary to raise additional troops. Accordingly, in December, 1775, a resolution to raise six additional regiments passed the House of Delegates, and that body immediately proceeded to the election of field officers. Mr. Muhlenberg was chosen colonel of the eighth regiment;<sup>s</sup> his appointment to which, considering his supposed entire want of military knowledge, was a high compliment; for all the other colonels commissioned at that time were gentlemen who had seen service either in the British army or the French war. Colonel Patrick Henry and himself were the only civilians in the whole Virginia line to whom regiments were given; and what further enhances the value of the compliment is the fact that he was at this time but twenty-nine years of age. The firmness and determination of his conduct throughout the prior part of the struggle had, however, convinced the members of the House that he possessed the necessary personal qualifications for command; and his character gave sufficient guarantee that the technical part of his new profession would not be long unlearned. Besides his

popularity among the settlers of the Valley of the Blue Ridge was so great, that under no other leader could they be expected to come forward so willingly and with so much alacrity. His appointment was warmly pressed by General Washington and Patrick Henry, whose wishes naturally had great weight. Abraham Bowman and Peter Helfenstein, Esqrs., both from his immediate neighbourhood, were chosen lieutenant-colonel and major of his regiment. Both were of German extraction, and the former had served with him upon the county Committee of Safety.

He was immediately commissioned, and proceeded to Dunmore to raise the regiment committed to his charge. Upon this occasion a well-authenticated anecdote is told of him, which gives us a deep insight into the character of the man, and the feelings which induced him to abandon the altar for the sword. It shows of what sterling metal the patriots of olden time were formed.

Upon his arrival at Woodstock, his different congregations, widely scattered along the frontier, were notified that upon the following Sabbath their beloved pastor would deliver his farewell sermon.<sup>9</sup> Of this event numerous traditionary accounts are

still preserved in the vicinity in which it took place, all coinciding with the written evidence. The fact itself merits a prominent place in this sketch, for in addition to the light it sheds upon the feelings which actuated the American people in the commencement of the revolutionary struggle, it also shows with what deep earnestness of purpose Mr. Muhlenberg entered upon his new career.

The appointed day came. The rude country church was filled to overflowing with the hardy mountaineers of the frontier counties, among whom were collected one or more of the independent companies to which the forethought of the Convention had given birth. So great was the assemblage, that the quiet burial-place was filled with crowds of stern, excited men, who had gathered together, believing that something, they knew not what, would be done in behalf of their suffering country. We may well imagine that the feelings which actuated the assembly were of no ordinary kind. The disturbances of the country, the gatherings of armed men, the universal feeling that liberty or slavery for themselves and their children hung upon the decision the Colonies then made, and the decided step taken by their pastor, all aroused the

patriotic enthusiasm of the vast multitude, and rendered it a magazine of fiery passion, which needed but a spark to burst into an all-consuming flame.

In this spirit the people awaited the arrival of him whom they were now to hear for the last time. He came, and ascended the pulpit, his tall form arrayed in full uniform, over which his gown, the symbol of his holy calling, was thrown. He was a plain, straightforward speaker, whose native eloquence was well suited to the people among whom he laboured. At all times capable of commanding the deepest attention, we may well conceive that upon this great occasion, when high, stern thoughts were burning for utterance, the people who heard him hung upon his fiery words with all the intensity of their souls. Of the matter of the sermon various accounts remain. All concur, however, in attributing to it great potency in arousing the military ardour of the people, and unite in describing its conclusion. After recapitulating, in words that aroused the coldest, the story of their sufferings and their wrongs, and telling them of the sacred character of the struggle in which he had unsheathed his sword, and for which he had left the altar he had vowed to serve,

he said <sup>1</sup> that, in the language of holy writ, there was a time for all things, a time to preach and a time to pray, but those times had passed away;" and in a voice that re-echoed through the church like a trumpet-blast, "that there was a time to fight, and that time had now come!"

The sermon finished, he pronounced the benediction. A breathless stillness brooded over the congregation. Deliberately putting off the gown, which had thus far covered his martial figure, he stood before them a girded warrior; and descending from the pulpit, ordered the drums at the church-door to beat for recruits. Then followed a scene to which even the American revolution, rich as it is in bright examples of the patriotic devotion of the people, affords no parallel. His audience, excited in the highest degree by <sup>his</sup> the impassioned words ~~which~~ <sup>had</sup> fallen from his lips, flocked around him, eager to be ranked among his followers. Old men were seen bringing forward their children, wives their husbands, and widowed mothers their sons, sending them under his paternal care to fight the battles of their country. It must have been a noble sight, and the cause thus supported could not fail.

Nearly three hundred men of the frontier churches

that day enlisted under his banner ; and the gown then thrown off was worn for the last time. Henceforth his footsteps were destined for a new career.

This event occurred about the middle of January, 1776 ; and from that time until March, Colonel Muhlenberg seems to have been busily engaged in recruiting. After the great impulse already received, it is natural to suppose that his success was rapid ; and such accordingly we find to be the fact. It was probably the first of the Virginia regiments ready for service, its ranks being full early in March. By the middle of that month he had already reported this fact to the Governor, and received orders to proceed with his command to Suffolk. On the 21st the regiment commenced its march for that place.

The necessity for stationing troops in this part of Virginia arose from the course which Lord Dunmore pursued. After having left the capital and taken refuge on board a ship of war, he had proclaimed martial law, and promised freedom to all slaves who would desert their masters, and join his standard. By these means he had collected a considerable force, composed of Tories, runaway negroes, and the forces he was able to draw from

his ships. With this motley command he continued committing ravages throughout all the waters of Eastern Virginia.

After the destruction of Norfolk and his defeat at the Great Bridge, he took possession of Portsmouth, which being slightly fortified served as an entrenched camp for his land forces. The spirit of the inhabitants was by this time so much aroused, that the yeomanry and independent companies succeeded in keeping their opponents pretty well confined to their quarters, but they had still the command by sea, which combination of force rendered Lord Dunmore's position dangerous and extremely harassing to the people of Virginia. As soon, therefore, as the regular regiments were fit to take the field, they were posted along the shores of the Bay, in such a manner as to closely confine the enemy to their position, and render it impossible for them to penetrate into the country. Colonel Muhlenberg's regiment being the first of the new levies ready for service was assigned the post of honour, and stationed at Suffolk, the nearest proper position towards Portsmouth.

But more serious duties than repelling the predatory incursions of so motley a force as Lord

Dunmore commanded were about falling to the lot of the Virginia line. A strong detachment of land troops, under the command of General Clinton, attended by a powerful naval force, had some time previously sailed from Boston, and their destination was generally supposed to be one of the Southern States. The attention of Congress was therefore turned to this portion of the confederacy, and General Lee, who at this time stood next to Washington in the public estimation, was ordered to take command of the southern department. Setting out immediately upon the receipt of his orders, he arrived at Williamsburg on the 29th of March, where, after some conference with the Committee of Safety, he proceeded with the energy natural to his character, to make preparations for the defence of this portion of his command.

His first object naturally was to take such vigorous measures against Lord Dunmore as would free him from this antagonist before the arrival of the more formidable one with whom he had been sent to contend. He accordingly visited Colonel Muhlenberg's camp at Suffolk, where he remained some time taking such steps as circumstances rendered necessary. By advice of the Committee of Safety,



then the chief executive power in the state, all persons residing in the counties adjacent to Lord Dunmore's position, were obliged to remove with their effects beyond his reach, thus effectually crippling his resources. During this time, Colonel Muhlenberg was actively employed against the enemy, his regiment being stationed near Portsmouth, protecting the removal of stores and provisions, in the course of which several slight skirmishes took place.<sup>10</sup>

Whilst General Lee was thus engaged in providing for the safety of Virginia, despatches arrived from the government of North Carolina, stating that a fleet conveying three thousand land troops, under the command of Lord Cornwallis, had arrived off Cape Fear. Here they had been joined by General Clinton's armament, who, seeing little prospect of success in Virginia, had left Lord Dunmore, after a stay with him of but a few days. This intelligence induced him immediately to repair to North Carolina, taking with him Colonel Muhlenberg's regiment.<sup>11</sup> This selection from all the Virginia regiments was an undoubted compliment to the military talents of its commander, which had in so short a time brought an entire body of recruits

into a state of discipline and efficiency. Lee himself said upon a subsequent occasion that "it was the strength and good condition of the regiment which induced me to order it out of its own province in preference to any other;" language which, coming from so severe and competent a judge as General Lee, was certainly a high compliment to a new and inexperienced officer. But he had probably not forgotten the lessons he had learned in the strict school of German discipline.

The regiment arrived at Wilmington, N. C., on the last of May. The British troops who had landed having been re-embarked, on the next day the fleet left Cape Fear River, steering for the southward. The general impression was that Charleston was their object. General Lee, however, wrote on the above date to Mr. Pendleton, that although he did not see upon what ground this persuasion was founded, yet as South Carolina was weaker than Virginia, he had at a venture ordered Muhlenberg's regiment to Charleston immediately. Subsequent information, however, confirmed the general opinion, and General Lee following them, arrived at Charleston on the same day that the British fleet appeared off the harbour.

On the 23d of June<sup>19</sup> the regiment joined the army at Charleston, after a long and rapid march, having performed the distance from Suffolk to Charleston in less than a month. This reinforcement had been anxiously expected, and "its arrival," said Lee, "made us very strong." Having previously disembarked three thousand land troops on Long Island, on the 28th the British fleet approached the harbour, and the next day the action took place.

To give the reader a clear idea of the part which Colonel Muhlenberg's regiment took in this affair, it will be necessary to give a brief description of the position of the troops, and the nature of the ground upon which they operated. The American army was posted on the main land at Haddrel's Point, where it could protect the city should the enemy's fleet succeed in passing the bar, and at the same time afford assistance to the forces on Sullivan's Island, which was separated from the main land by an arm of the sea easily passed. Beyond Sullivan's Island lay Long Island, upon which the British forces had been disembarked, the two divided only by a shallow piece of water, which was easily fordable at low

tide. At the one extremity of Sullivan's Island, Fort Moultrie was placed to protect the harbour, its guns commanding the bar, which the enemy's fleet was obliged to pass; at the other, which was but a short distance from Long Island, Colonel Thompson, with the North Carolina troops, was stationed.

The plan of the British commander was equally simple, although perhaps not so judicious. Had he received the fire of the fort without returning it, crossed the bar, and anchored his vessels in front of the city, as was subsequently done when General Lincoln was captured, and as General Lee expected, the battle would have been fought on the main land, and in all probability the town would have fallen. But a different course was adopted. It was decided that the fleet should bombard the fort, of the success of which attempt no doubt was entertained; whilst at the same time the British land forces should cross from Long to Sullivan's Island, and attack the fort in the rear, where it was almost defenceless. To prevent the success of any attempt of this nature, should it be made, General Lee had directed Colonel Thompson, with three pieces of artillery, his own regiment, some

rangers and militia, to take post on the eastern extremity of Sullivan's Island.

The American commander, finding that the enemy did not pass the fort to attack the town, quickly perceived the importance of the struggle then taking place on the island. Colonel Muhlenberg with his regiment was immediately despatched to reinforce Colonel Thompson: his regiment in all probability being chosen for this important service for the same reasons which induced the General to select it from all the Virginia troops to accompany him in his march to the southward.

In the battle of Sullivan's Island, the fortune of the day was principally with the South Carolinians who held the fort, but the land troops at the other end of the island had an equally difficult task assigned them, which they performed equally well. At first, the enemy's land forces made no very vigorous efforts to effect their passage from one island to the other, for they expected every moment to hear the destruction of the fort, when resistance would cease of itself. But as the firing grew warmer and warmer, they perceived the increasing necessity of making a land attack, and their efforts to effect this became more earnest. The pass

was, however, gallantly defended, and although the Americans were far outnumbered, and that too by veteran troops, the enemy were destined to be equally unsuccessful by land as by sea. The withdrawal of the fleet was the signal for the cessation of the land attack, and on both elements victory perched upon the American standard.

Although in the popular version of the battle almost the entire credit has been given to Moultrie's South Carolinians, yet such was not the view taken by General Lee, who in his official report gave at least equal praise to the troops who opposed the enemy's land forces. The following language is used in that paper:<sup>13</sup> "In the mean time, I think it justice to publish the merits of Colonel Moultrie and his brave garrison; and I know not which corps I have the greatest reason to be pleased with, Muhlenberg's Virginians or the North Carolina troops; they are both equally alert, zealous, and spirited." This was no mean praise of raw recruits, who had never before seen fire; and coming too from one of the greatest military spirits of the age, enhanced the value of the compliment.

The same view was taken by Congress, who, on the receipt of the General's despatch, returned

their thanks to General Lee, Colonels Moultrie and Thompson, and the troops commanded by the two latter. As Colonel Muhlenberg was second in command to Colonel Thompson, it is but right that he should here receive a part of the credit due to so gallant an action.

The result of the attack upon Charleston, it is well known, was so disastrous to the enemy that their troops were re-embarked, and the fleet returned to New York. After holding his troops in readiness to march to Virginia should the fleet enter the Chesapeake, so soon as that danger was past, General Lee turned his thoughts to further operations in the South.

During this time, an event of considerable personal interest occurred to Colonel Muhlenberg. It was intimated to him that his regiment was not considered one of those on the Continental establishment. This doubt was produced by the ambiguity of the former resolution of Congress, which was probably caused by the disputes between Colonels Henry and Woodford;<sup>14</sup> the enemies of the former desiring that only six regiments, commencing with the third, should be accepted from Virginia. This would have excluded Colonel

Henry, which was violently opposed by his friends, and in consequence of this dispute, the rank of the seventh and eighth Virginia regiments was not very definitely ascertained. The following letter from General Lee to Richard Peters, Esq., Secretary of the Board of War, in behalf of Colonel Muhlenberg, presents the subject in so clear a light, and is withal so complimentary to him and his corps, that no apology is necessary for its introduction.

“Charleston, August 2d, 1776.

“DEAR SIR :

“Colonel Muhlenberg of the eighth battalion of Virginians has been made very uneasy by some letters he has lately received with respect to the rank of his regiment. These letters intimate that it never was the intention of Congress to consider the seventh, eighth, and ninth battalions of Virginians on the Continental establishment until they were entirely complete. That his regiment never was entirely complete, and that, consequently, after having so long thought himself on the Continental establishment, and on this presumption having marched five hundred miles from his own pro-



vince, under the command of a Continental general, he at last finds himself only a provincial officer.

“I have ventured to assure him and his officers, who are equally uneasy, that there must be some mistake in this affair; in fact, the hardship would be so great that I cannot believe their apprehensions are well founded. It was, if I remember right, notified in April by the Committee of Safety in Virginia, that they were then taken upon the Continental establishment, and, (though in this I may be mistaken,) without the proviso of their being complete.

“It happened at this time, though not complete to a man, (for no regiment is ever complete to a man,) that Muhlenberg’s regiment was not only the most complete of the province, but I believe of the whole continent. It was not only the most complete in numbers, but the best armed, clothed, and equipped for immediate service. I must repeat, I cannot conceive that it was ever the intention of Congress that the establishment should be filled to a man, but that they should be competent to service in or out of the province. In most services, when new levies are raised, one half of the proposed complement en-

titles them to establishment. Muhlenberg's regiment wanted only forty at most. It was the strength and good condition of the regiment that induced me to order it out of its own province in preference to any other. I certainly at that time considered them Continental troops, otherwise I could have had no authority to order them out of the province.

“I must now submit to the consideration of Congress if it would not be really the greatest cruelty that their strength and good condition should be turned against them. It was their strength and good condition which carried them out of their province, where, had they remained and known that it was a necessary condition of their establishment to be complete to a man, they certainly could have accomplished it in three days. I do therefore most sincerely hope and persuade myself that Muhlenberg's regiment will at least date their rank from the day I ordered them to march out of their province. Not only justice, but policy requires it, for you will otherwise lose a most excellent regiment.

“I am, &c.”

This energetic remonstrance produced a change in the determination of Congress, if indeed any fixed

determination had been made upon the subject. On the 13th of August, a resolution passed that body "that the eighth Virginia battalion be taken into pay from the 27th day of May last," thus putting to rest this annoying doubt. This was the day on which they had marched out of their own province, in accordance with General Lee's recommendation; although strict justice would undoubtedly have required that their rank should have dated from the time at which the regiment had marched out of the county in which it was raised. This corps, commonly known as the "German regiment,"<sup>15</sup> continued in service until the close of the war. It was one of the most distinguished in the army, and its excellent state of discipline deservedly gave its commander a high reputation as a skilful and energetic officer. Such must have been the character he gained in this, his first campaign, as evidently appears from the constant tone of praise in which he is spoken of by General Lee. Indeed Lee seems to have formed and continued a high opinion of him; for in the year 1782, when discussing the merits of the various general officers in a letter to his sister, he ranks General Muhlenberg in the same line with Schuyler, Sullivan, Wayne, Greene, and Knox.<sup>16</sup>

As soon as it had been ascertained that the British fleet had proceeded directly to New York, after their repulse at Sullivan's Island, General Lee planned an excursion to Florida.<sup>17</sup> A post on the St. Mary's River had been established by some British officer, who had there collected a numerous body of Tories, negroes, and Indians, with whom he was in the habit of ravaging the frontiers of Georgia. To destroy this post, and strike terror into the Florida Indians, were the objects General Lee proposed to gain by this expedition. Accordingly, in July, Colonel Muhlenberg with his regiment and a detachment of North Carolina troops, were sent forward to Savannah. Colonel Moultrie says that these troops were marched off in the utmost haste, without one necessary article, without artillery, and without even a medicine chest. A few weeks subsequently they were followed by Generals Lee and Howe, and Colonel Moultrie, with a considerable body of South Carolina troops.

The expedition was destined for the attack of St. Augustine, but much delay unavoidably took place in making the necessary preparations. Just as these difficulties were about being surmounted, an express arrived in the early part of September, directing General Lee immediately to

join the main army at the North. This of course put an end to the Florida expedition. General Lee left, directing Colonel Muhlenberg's regiment and the North Carolinians to follow. They had been nearly two months in Savannah, at the most sickly season of the year, and disease had made dreadful havoc in their ranks. The Virginians especially, accustomed to the pure air of the mountains of the northern part of their state, suffered severely.<sup>18</sup> Major Helfenstein, an excellent officer, died immediately after his return to Virginia, and Colonel Muhlenberg himself contracted a disease which ultimately proved fatal.

In accordance with General Lee's orders, a part of the regiment commenced its march for the North, the remainder awaiting further orders. From the enfeebled condition of the men, their progress was necessarily slow, and the regiment did not arrive in Virginia until the 20th of December, under which date Colonel Muhlenberg writes to his father "that they have just returned from their arduous campaign; that his regiment has suffered much from sickness; and that as soon as properly recruited, he had orders to march to Philadelphia."

## CHAPTER III.

Recruiting in Virginia—Promoted to the Rank of Brigadier-General—Letter to General Washington—Duties assigned him in Virginia—Appointed to a Brigade—Arrives at Head-Quarters—Movements in Jersey—The Army marches to Philadelphia—Uncertainty as to the Enemy's Movements—Council of War—Strength of his Brigade—March through Philadelphia—General Orders there issued—Reasons for giving Battle—General Washington's Appeal to the Army—Its loose Discipline—Movements of the two Armies—Battle of Brandywine—Disposition of the Americans—Rout of the Right Wing—Extraordinary March of the Reserve—Gallant Conduct of Muhlenberg's and Weedon's Brigades—Pursuit of the Enemy checked—Retreating Army saved—Reasons for not being mentioned in the Despatch—Fall of Philadelphia.

ARDUOUS as this campaign had been, the times were not such as to allow much respite to any officer. The earlier part of the campaign of 1776 had resulted most disastrously for the American arms, although the loss of the battle of Long Island and the miserable blunder of retaining Fort Wash-

ington had been in some measure compensated by the battles of Princeton and Trenton. Still the latter actions had not inflicted any material loss upon the enemy, although in so far as they had destroyed the prevalent idea of British invincibility, they had been useful in raising the spirits of the people, and rendering the war more popular. Nevertheless, the army of General Washington needed all the reinforcements which could be raised, in order to meet the great exertions the enemy were making for the next campaign.

Accordingly we find Colonel Muhlenberg busily engaged in Virginia filling the gaps made in his ranks by sickness during the last campaign. On the 21st of January, a resolve passed Congress directing him to recall that portion of his regiment still in the South, and recruiting both as rapidly as possible, to march each company as soon as filled to General Washington's camp.<sup>19</sup>

Whilst engaged upon this service, he was on the 21st of February promoted by Congress to the rank of brigadier-general,<sup>20</sup> a step fully earned by his conduct in the southern campaign. The gentlemen promoted were chosen by ballot, leaving their rank with regard to each other to be afterwards settled.

When this was done, an attempt was made to date the commission of General Woodford—who at this time held no rank in the army—as though he had never resigned his commission of colonel. The attempt, however, failed for the present, and General Muhlenberg was accordingly commissioned as senior brigadier of the Virginia line, ranking in the army list immediately after General Wayne, who was promoted at the same time.

On the 23d, whilst still ignorant of his promotion, he addressed the following letter<sup>21</sup> to General Washington, which is interesting as showing the terrible effects of southern climate upon northern troops.

“Winchester, Feb. 23, 1777.

“SIR,

“The honourable the Continental Congress passed a resolve on the 21st of last month, ordering that part of my regiment which was still to the southward to return to Virginia, and that all the companies belonging to the regiment should be recruited to their full complement of men, and march to camp as soon as complete. The detachment from the southward arrived here this week in a shattered condition, having only seventy men fit for duty;



so that it will be almost impossible to march the men so soon as I could wish, if the companies are to be wholly complete. I have a sufficient number of recruits to fill up the first three companies belonging to the regiment, and hope to march them in about ten days.

“We have been much retarded in the recruiting service for want of officers, as there are at present twelve or fourteen vacancies in the regiment. I have applied to the Governor and Council of this State, as well as to General Lewis, to know in what manner the vacancies should be filled, but was told they were entirely unacquainted with the matter. Colonel Gresson advised me to apply to your Excellency and send a recommendation, which I have accordingly done.

“There is at present one entire company wanting in my regiment, in the room of Captain Stinson’s, from Pittsburg, whose time of enlistment expired in September last. Mr. Swain, who waits on your Excellency with this letter, has served as adjutant of my regiment since it was raised. He bears the character of a good officer, and would willingly undertake to raise this company with your Excellency’s approbation.

“I must trouble your Excellency with another petition in behalf of my regiment. The whole regiment consists at present of riflemen; and the campaign we made to the southward last summer fully convinced me that on a march, where soldiers are without tents, and their arms continually exposed to the weather, rifles are of little use. I would therefore request your Excellency to convert my regiment into musketry.

“Your Excellency’s

“Most obedient, humble servant,

“P. MUHLENBERG.”

In reply to this modest letter, General Muhlenberg received the unexpected news of his promotion. His attention was now required to a wider circle of duties, and he was accordingly directed to take charge of all the Continental troops of the Virginia line then in that state. He was urged in the most pressing manner to hasten the completion of the various regiments, and order them to join the main army as rapidly as possible, “much, very much depending,” in the language of the letter, “on its being reinforced immediately.” His other requests relative to his late regiment were complied with, and

he was required to name a sufficient number of gentlemen to fill vacancies, to whom commissions would be given on their joining the army.<sup>22</sup>

He was also desired to report himself at headquarters as soon as possible, there being an insufficient number of general officers then with the main army. This, however, he was unable to do immediately, owing to the mass of business entailed upon him by his new rank. Since the death of General Mercer, the Virginia line had been without any brigadier, except one,<sup>23</sup> who was on the point of resigning; and having no active commander, considerable disorder and confusion had crept into many of the regiments. This General Muhlenberg was obliged to rectify, and to put the general recruiting service in the state on a proper footing, before he could with any propriety join the army.

In April, 1777, he was assigned the first, fifth, ninth, and thirteenth regiments of the Virginia line to compose his brigade, with orders to collect, equip, and put them in a situation to take the field as rapidly as possible. This duty again detained him in Virginia, their dispersed state requiring his instant attention. By making great efforts, however, he succeeded in concentrating, equipping,

and marching them off in a very short time ; and early in May he himself left for head-quarters, then at Morristown in New Jersey.

Upon his arrival, however, he found that the army had withdrawn from its former position to the heights of Middlebrook, where it had strongly entrenched itself in a species of fortified camp. This was rendered unavoidable by the numerical inferiority of the American forces, and the necessity of keeping possession of the northern part of the state, in order to protect Philadelphia and the Delaware.

He took command of his brigade at Middlebrook on the 26th of May, arriving just in time for the opening of the campaign. In the organization of the army, his brigade and that of Weedon composed the division of General Greene,<sup>24</sup> a corps which, in the ensuing operations, proved itself to be one of the best in the field. Both brigades were composed entirely of Virginians, and the gallant manner in which they acquitted themselves in situations of peculiar responsibility at Brandywine and Germantown, showed that the confidence placed in them by the Commander-in-chief was not undeserved. Early in June, the German regiment, now

under Colonel the Baron de Arendt, having fully completed its numbers, arrived at Middlebrook, and was assigned to the command of its former Colonel. His brigade was now complete.

The enemy were at this time about commencing serious operations, and well it was for the cause of America that the delay of arrivals from England had postponed the opening of hostilities. The Continental forces, extremely weak at the close of the winter, had been heavily reinforced, and although still numerically inferior, could now cope with their adversaries with some prospect of success. In the early part of the month, Howe moved with the greater part of his force to Brunswick, intending to strike at the American army if possible, and at all events to take possession of Philadelphia. Washington, however, divined his intention; a council of war, composed of all the general officers present, was held, and it was resolved to maintain the heights of Middlebrook. This position was so strong, that the risk of attacking his opponents in their entrenchments was too great for the cautious policy of Howe, and on the other hand it was impossible to march to Philadelphia, leaving this army to operate upon his rear. Some skilful manœuvring

took place, but the Americans persisted in retaining possession of the heights of Middlebrook, ready to engage upon that ground but no other. General Howe, finding all attempts vain to bring on an action with them upon more favourable ground, commenced a retrograde movement to Brunswick. Upon this, General Greene, with three chosen brigades, of which Muhlenberg's, forming the vanguard,<sup>25</sup> was one, was detached to harass the enemy's rear. He performed this duty with his usual skill, his troops behaving with the utmost gallantry; but except some trifling skirmishes, in which nothing material was gained by either party, no results were obtained. To protect Greene's advance, Washington moved the main army to Quibbletown, seven miles in front of Middlebrook.

Upon perceiving this, General Howe made a skilful attempt to turn his enemy's flank, and prevent a retreat to his fortified position. Cornwallis, with a strong corps, was ordered to make a detour to the right, and endeavour to take possession of the heights of Middlebrook, whilst another column, led by Howe in person, should turn their left flank. Fortunately this able movement was detected in sufficient time to frustrate it, and the Americans re-

gained their camp with but trifling loss, General Greene's command forming the rearguard.

General Howe finding it impossible to reach Philadelphia through the Jerseys, now determined to make use of his naval superiority to effect that object. He accordingly commenced the embarkation of a very large portion of his force, keeping their destination a profound secret. The formidable movement of Burgoyne tended still further to perplex the American commander. Supposing that it was his adversary's intention to form a junction with the northern army, he detached Sullivan's division to Pompton Plains, and advanced the main army to Morristown, thus taking a position somewhat nearer the North River and yet protecting Philadelphia. But fearing a similar movement to that which produced the retreat from Quibbletown, Muhlenberg's brigade, one of the strongest in the army, formed the rearguard, with orders to return to Middlebrook upon the first hostile movement against that place, and hold the heights until reinforced.<sup>26</sup>

During these operations but little opportunity of distinction was afforded General Muhlenberg. He remained with the main army, fulfilling the duties of his station, and taking great pains to bring his

brigade to that perfect state of discipline which enabled it afterwards to distinguish itself so highly. Although senior brigadier of the Virginia line, he was not so fortunate as Wayne, the senior brigadier of the Pennsylvanians, who, owing to the scarcity of general officers from that state, generally commanded a division, which, of course, placed him more prominently before the public eye.

In July the embarkation of the British troops was completed, and their fleet fell slowly down the bay. Their final destination was with good reason supposed to be Philadelphia, and the army was ordered to move by divisions towards the Delaware, in order to be ready to act as circumstances might require. Upon this march, as generally, Washington remained with Greene's division, which, from its strength and fine condition, he seems to have looked upon somewhat in the light of a reserve. A writer in the *Pennsylvania Packet* thus describes their march on Sunday the 28th: "I saw on their full march, seven miles from Morristown, on the road to the Delaware, General Washington, General Muhlenberg, and General Weedon, with four thousand men, and General Knox with his train of artillery, consisting of fourteen field pieces and one howitzer,"



then, no doubt, deemed a magnificent sight. At this time General Greene was absent for a few days, and the command had devolved upon General Muhlenberg.

The army now remained some time in the vicinity of Philadelphia, awaiting further developments as to the movements of the enemy. These were highly contradictory. On the 30th of July the fleet had been seen off the capes of Delaware, when all doubts as to their destination were supposed to be at an end, and the army was concentrated for the defence of Philadelphia. The day following, however, they sailed out of the bay, and were not seen again until the 7th of the next month, when they reappeared off the capes steering for the southward. Here all traces of them were lost.

In this state of doubt, a council of general officers<sup>27</sup> was held on the 21st of August, before whom the Commander-in-chief laid all the above facts, and required their opinion as to the point for which the enemy were destined; whether it would be advisable for the army to follow them; and if not, whether they should remain in their present position, or move towards the North River. After

mature deliberation, the council decided that the point of attack was Charleston; that it would be improper for the army to follow them, as it could not arrive in time to be of any service, and that consequently it would be advisable to move immediately to the Hudson. Accordingly orders were issued that Greene's division should march the next day to Coryell's Ferry; but this step was prevented by news of the British fleet, which had entered and was proceeding up the Chesapeake. The army was immediately put in motion to oppose this new attempt on Philadelphia.

Muhlenberg's brigade was at this time, as appears from his orderly book, about two thousand strong, well equipped, and from the pains taken we may presume in a high state of discipline. For these reasons it was probably selected as the vanguard of the army in its march through Philadelphia.

This step was taken for the sake of encouraging the citizens of that place by a view of the whole American army in its best attire. This certainly did not contrast very well with the perfect equipments of the enemy, but great pains were taken by General Washington to make the show as imposing

as possible. The general orders issued previous to the march are highly amusing, so much so that the following extract<sup>23</sup> may not be unentertaining.

“It is strongly and earnestly enjoined upon the commanding officers of regiments to make all their men who are able to bear arms, except the necessary guards, to march in their ranks; for it is so great a reflection upon all order and discipline to see such a number of strollers (for they cannot be called guards) with the wagons, that it is really shocking. The army is to march in one column through the city of Philadelphia, going in and marching down Front Street to Chestnut, and up Chestnut to the commons. A small halt is to be made about a mile this side of the city, till the rear closes up and the line is in proper order. The divisions will march as follows: Greene’s, Stephen’s, Lincoln’s, and Lord Sterling’s; the horse to be divided upon the two wings, Bland’s and Baylor’s regiments upon the right, Sheldon’s and Mailand’s upon the left. The following order of march is to be observed: first, 1 subaltern, and 12 light horse; 200 guards; in their rear a complete troop; 200 yards in rear of the troop, the residue of Bland’s and Baylor’s regiments; 100 yards in the rear of these,

a company of pioneers, with their axes in proper order; 100 yards in the rear of the pioneers, a regiment from Muhlenberg's brigade; and close in the rear of that regiment, all Muhlenberg's artillery; then his brigade, followed by Weedon's, Woodford's, and Scott's, in order, with all their field artillery in their respective fronts, parks of artillery and the artificers belonging thereto in the centre; Lincoln's and Lord Sterling's divisions following, with all their brigade artillery in the rear of their respective brigades. A regiment from Lord Sterling's division for a rearguard, with Sheldon's and Mailand's light horse 150 yards in rear of this regiment, and one troop 150 yards in rear of the horse.

“The whole is to march by subdivisions at half distance, the ranks six paces asunder, which is to be exactly observed in passing through the city, and great attention given by the officers to see that the men carry their arms well, and are made to appear as decent as circumstances will admit. It is expected that each officer, without exception, will keep his post in passing through the city, and under no pretence whatsoever leave it; and if any soldier shall dare quit his ranks, he shall receive thirty-nine lashes at the next halting-place afterwards.

“The field officer of the day will prevent any of the men who are allotted to attend the wagons from slipping into the city. As the baggage will be but a little while separated from the column, very few men will be sufficient to guard it, and the General wishes to have as many of them as are able to appear in the ranks, in the line of march.

“The drums and fifes of each brigade are to be collected in the centre of it, and a time for the quick step played, but with such moderation, that the men may step to it with ease, without dancing along or totally disregarding the music, which has been too often the case. The men are to be excused from carrying their camp-kettles to-morrow.”

This spectacle being over, the army pursued its march to the field of Brandywine. Public opinion required that a battle should be fought for the preservation of Philadelphia, the capital of the States, and although the condition of General Washington's army was scarcely such as to enable him to cope upon equal terms with his enemy, still it would have been highly injurious to the public cause to have allowed Philadelphia to fall without striking a blow in its defence. The discipline, too, of the American army had improved considerably since the cam-

paign of the year previous, and although many portions were still very raw troops, yet the winter encampment at Morristown had given all divisions of the army the facility of moving in large masses, and in a greater or less degree the elementary principles of military education. The battle we are about approaching then, may be called the first contested field between the two *armies*, for at Long Island the greater portion of the American troops broke and ran at the first sight of the enemy, and Trenton and Princeton, although highly skilful achievements under the circumstances, were after all mere surprises, an army against an advanced post.

The American army was supposed to be stronger and in better condition than it really was, and hence considerable expectations of success were entertained. So much being at stake, the Commander-in-chief having determined to risk a battle, endeavoured by every means in his power to excite the spirit of the soldiery and produce an enthusiasm among the men, such as in later times carried worse troops from victory to victory. With this object, the general orders of September 5th, contained a powerful appeal to the army. After stating

the object of the enemy to be the capture of Philadelphia, and reminding the troops of the recent failure of the same enterprise in Jersey, the General goes on to say, that "he trusts they will be again disappointed. Should they put their designs against Philadelphia on this route, their all is at stake. They will put the contest on the event of a single battle, and if they are overthrown, they are totally undone, and the war is at an end. Now then is the time for our most strenuous exertions; one bold stroke will free the land from rapine, devastation, and burning, and female innocence from brutal lust and violence." He then proceeds to recapitulate the successes of our arms in the north, and appeals to the emulation of the army under his immediate command in the following language: "Who can forbear to emulate their noble example? Who is without ambition to share with them the applause of their countrymen, and of all posterity, as the defenders of their country and the procurers of peace and happiness to unborn millions in the present and future generations? Two years we have maintained the war, and struggled with difficulties innumerable, but the prospect has since brightened, and our affairs put on a better face. Now is the

time to reap the fruits of all our toils and dangers ; if we behave like men, this third campaign will be our last. Ours is the main army, and to us our country looks up for protection. The eyes of all America and all Europe are turned upon us, as upon those by whom the event of the war is to be determined ; and the General assures his countrymen and fellow-soldiers that he believes the critical, the important moment is at hand, which demands their most spirited exertions in the field. Glory waits to crown the brave ; peace, freedom, and happiness will be the reward of victory. Animated by motives like these, soldiers fighting in the cause of innocence, humanity, and justice, never will give way, but with undaunted resolution press on to conquest ; and this the General assures himself is the part the American forces now in arms will act, and thus acting he will assure them success."

This finely written appeal no doubt produced some effect, but the morale of the rank and file of the army does not seem to have been at that time of the highest order. The next day the Commander-in-chief reiterates his orders against plundering the inhabitants, in the severest terms ; and orders that if any one shall be found so lost to all sense of



honour as to run away in the approaching engagement, he shall be immediately shot. On the same day, in the brigade orders of General Muhlenberg, "The General notices with regret that for some days past many soldiers are in the habit of getting drunk regularly at least once a day, thereby rendering themselves unfit for duty at the present crisis," and denounces the most severe punishment to similar offenders.

On the 25th of August the British fleet arrived at the head of Elk, and the disembarkation of their troops was commenced. The day previous, the American forces had marched through Philadelphia on their way to meet the enemy. The enemy's landing must have been conducted with the utmost deliberation; at all events, Sir William Howe was not ready to move from the head of Elk until the American troops had selected their position. On the 5th of September, General Washington's headquarters were at Wilmington, and on the 7th, the main body of the army was encamped on the east side of Red Clay Creek, with the divisions of Generals Greene and Stephen advanced to the banks of the White Clay Creek, but a few miles removed from the British army at the head of Elk. The

strength of the latter was full eighteen thousand men, in the highest state of discipline, and amply provided with all necessary equipment and material. The former was estimated at fifteen thousand, but including militia, did not parade on the day of battle more than eleven thousand effectives, and those by no means so well armed and equipped as their adversaries. The two armies now stood facing each other, and the great game, in which the lives of men were the pawns and the fate of a nation the stake, was about commencing.

On the 7th, the enemy moved in two columns from Elkton, and after some skirmishing with General Maxwell, who commanded the American light infantry, united at Newark. The divisions of Greene and Stephen were then recalled, and the whole American army, except the light infantry, concentrated on the right bank of Red Clay Creek, where General Washington determined to give battle. Sir William Howe, not liking the ground, again advanced in two columns, one making a feint of attacking the Americans in front, whilst the other extended its left up the creek, and manœuvred to turn their opponents' right flank. To avoid this, General Washington, early on the night of the

10th, changed his ground, and with his whole army took post behind the Brandywine at Chadd's Ford. The same evening the enemy moved to Kennet Square, about six miles from the American position. Nothing now prevented the engagement which Howe sought, and Washington did not decline, for a victory only would save Philadelphia.

On the morning of the 11th, the American troops were posted in the following order. The main body, consisting of Wayne's, Muhlenberg's, and Weedon's brigades, were stationed at Chadd's Ford; Wayne, with Proctor's artillery, occupying a slightly entrenched eminence immediately above the ford, whilst Greene's division took post further in the rear, on the heights. The right wing, composed of Sullivan's, Stephen's, and Sterling's divisions, extended some distance up the river, with orders to prevent any passage of the fords. These occurred in the following order: Brinton's, Jones's, Wistar's, Buffington's, and Jeffries's; the two latter being above the forks of the creek. The Pennsylvania militia composed the left wing, and were to guard the lower fords. Maxwell's light infantry occupied some heights on the left bank of the river,

at Chadd's Ford, and formed a part of the main body, with which Washington remained in person.

The enemy left Kennet Square in two columns, one under Lieutenant-General Knyphausen, and the other under Lord Cornwallis. The American army was destined again to be defeated by the familiar artifice of amusing the front whilst the other column, turning the flank, gained their rear. But General Washington cannot be blamed for not foreseeing this movement. No one could suppose that so experienced an officer as Sir William Howe would commit the terrible error of separating the two wings of his army seventeen miles asunder, thus giving his enemy the opportunity of overwhelming each in succession whilst unsupported. But the magnitude of the blunder saved him from its effects; for Washington, not believing that the second column could be out of supporting distance, hesitated to attack the small command of Knyphausen, and the enemy were permitted to make their dispositions unmolested. The first column under Knyphausen advanced upon Chadd's Ford, and driving Maxwell across the stream, made preparations to cross; whilst Cornwallis, after making a circuit of seven-

teen miles, passed the stream at Jeffries's Ford, which Sullivan had left unguarded, and even unobserved. Whether Sullivan was blameable or not,<sup>29</sup> and why no information of the march of a column thirteen thousand strong could be obtained by the Commander-in-chief, are questions not here to be discussed. The writer's object is to trace the conduct of the subject of this memoir, and introduce only such matter as is necessary to its full comprehension.

When it became certain that Cornwallis had gained the American rear, and that his force was drawn up in order of battle on the heights behind the Birmingham meeting-house, Washington issued his orders with great energy and rapidity. Two principal objects were to be obtained,—to check the advance of Cornwallis, and prevent the passage of Chadd's Ford by Knyphausen. To effect these, Wayne was left at the ford, the whole right wing ordered off to oppose Cornwallis, with directions for each brigade to attack as soon as it came upon the ground, and Greene, with the brigades of Muhlenberg and Weedon acting as a reserve, was halted in Wayne's rear, in such a situation that he could readily assist either of the parties engaged.

The right wing had advanced rapidly to their designated position, but owing to some delay in forming, originating in a foolish dispute as to the post of honour,<sup>30</sup> they were attacked before they had completed their formation. At the ford, as soon as Knyphausen knew from the heavy firing that Cornwallis was engaged, he attempted to cross the stream in earnest. Wayne opposed this movement with his usual vigour; and Greene was preparing to assist him, when an order arrived from Washington, who was with the right wing, directing him to move forward immediately to the support of that portion of the army, then most sorely pressed. Greene instantly obeyed, and his division was put in motion with such an impetus, that although the distance was over four miles, it is established on the best authority that it was performed in forty minutes,<sup>31</sup> the men moving on a trot, and with an ardour that scarcely admitted of the preservation of order. Such a march is almost unparalleled.

In the course of the day, Washington had pointed out to Greene a second position which it would be advisable to occupy, should the event prove unfortunate to the American arms. It was about a mile

from the Birmingham meeting-house, on the road to Dilworth, in a narrow defile, flanked on both sides by woods, and perfectly commanding the road.<sup>32</sup> On this spot Colonel Pinckney, an aid of the Commander-in-chief, met Greene with orders to occupy the position and protect the retreat of the army. This was highly necessary, for the right wing had been completely routed, and was in full flight.

Now was proved the value of the high state of discipline to which these troops had been brought by the unceasing exertions of their commanders. Upon them hung the fate of the army and the nation; for unless they checked the victorious advance of the enemy, the defeat would have proved destruction. But nobly did these brave men redeem the trust confided to them. Almost overcome as they were by their rapid and exhausting march, they hesitated not a moment. Weedon's brigade was drawn up in the defile, to afford a protecting point, behind which the scattered parties of Americans might rally, whilst Muhlenberg's, with which was Greene in person, passed on to Weedon's right, and met the enemy at the road. Charging them gallantly, they drove back the hostile columns, who

were advancing flushed with victory, and counting securely on the total destruction of the rebel army. The contest here was terrific. The troops were engaged at the point of the bayonet, and charge followed charge with the utmost desperation.<sup>33</sup> This single brigade resisted the attack of Lord Cornwallis's whole command; and although opposed by the guards, grenadiers, light infantry, and some chosen regiments of Hessians, they firmly maintained their position. The conduct of General Muhlenberg at this crisis was such as to win him the admiration and esteem of the whole army. Conspicuous at the head of his men, he braved every danger, leading the charges upon the enemy, and approaching so close as to be personally recognised by them. He had his orders to maintain the post, and would have yielded it only with his life.

This desperate resistance effectually stopped the progress of the British army, and allowed time for our broken troops to retreat. On the left, the enemy had met with the same determined opposition from Weedon's brigade, which retained its position until fairly overwhelmed by numbers, when it retreated in good order under the protection of Muhlenberg's command, which was the last to quit the field.



“Both brigades,” says the author of the *Life of Greene*, “here exhibited that firmness and precision of movement which drew forth the admiration of the enemy, whilst it checked their advance in the career of victory.”<sup>34</sup> Upon their retreat they also succeeded in extricating General Wayne, who after a most gallant resistance, had been compelled to yield to the numerical superiority of Knyphausen. Thus the conduct of these troops saved everything, and left in the hands of the British general a barren victory.

Several hours of daylight still remained after the total rout of the right wing. Had the enemy been able to occupy this time in the unmolested pursuit of troops who had lost all semblance of order, it needs a very slight military knowledge to see that the consequences would have been most disastrous, and would probably have resulted in the entire destruction of the American forces. Had that occurred, human speculation cannot divine what would have been the effect upon the future fate of this country. Fortunately the event proved different, but that it did so is entirely attributable to the firmness and gallantry of the troops commanded by Generals Muhlenberg and Weedon.

Hence the trifling loss suffered by the army—trifling when the sharpness of the action, and the total rout of a portion of the troops is considered—can be accounted for by nothing else than the firm and excellent conduct of the reserve.

All the American accounts concur in making these two brigades the heroes of the day,<sup>35</sup> nor were the British backward in admitting their bravery. An English author<sup>36</sup> speaking of them says, that “they exhibited a degree of firmness, order, and resolution, and preserved such a countenance in extremely sharp service, as would not have discredited veterans.” Well might they confess thus much, when for several hours these troops had held the greater portion of the British army at bay. The fact that, after routing the whole American force opposed to them, the British pursuit continued for only one mile, when it was so severely checked that it never advanced beyond that point, is the highest compliment that can be paid to those Generals, who with but three or four thousand men arrested the progress of a victorious column numbering thirteen thousand.

The good conduct of these brigades was not noticed in general orders by the Commander-in-

chief, the common interest requiring that an effort should be made to keep up the spirits of the raw troops who had broken, whose officers were writhing under the mortification of their recent defeat, and the knowledge that other troops had behaved better than their own. Acting under this resolution, Washington's official despatches merely state the result of the day, distinguishing no officer or corps for either good or bad conduct. Some of the officers, particularly General Weedon, were said to have been dissatisfied with this course, and to have remonstrated with General Greene, their immediate commander. According to one account, he is said to have expostulated warmly with Washington on the injustice done to the brave men of his division; but the latter replied that Greene was said to be his favourite officer, and these troops like himself were Virginians, and if he were to applaud them for their gallant conduct, he would be charged with partiality; jealousy would be excited, and the service would suffer.<sup>37</sup> Another, and a more probable version of the story, is, that when Greene was desired to speak with the Commander-in-chief, he declined, observing correctly enough: "Our General has enough to

distress him; let us not add to his perplexities. The whole army admits the services you rendered; let us rest satisfied with the consciousness of it.”<sup>38</sup> This magnanimity was appreciated in the army, and although not figuring in the despatch, neither Greene nor the Virginians lost reputation among their fellow-soldiers by this sacrifice; and in private letters both Generals Muhlenberg and Weedon were highly complimented for their conduct.

The rendezvous of the American troops was Chester, to which the baggage had before been sent forward. Greene’s division moved last,<sup>39</sup> covering the retreat of the army, but the check at the ravine had been sufficient for the enemy, and no attempt was made at pursuit. Arriving at Chester, the Commander-in-chief wrote to Congress, that he was agreeably surprised to find his loss so small and the troops in such good condition,—another proof of the gallant conduct of the reserve.

So excellent was the condition of the army, that before Sir William Howe had left the field of Brandywine, the Americans were ready to engage him anew. After some little manœuvring, the two armies approached each other on the 16th, at the

Warren Tavern on the Lancaster Road, and the advance parties of each had actually commenced the action, when a heavy rain separated the combatants.<sup>40</sup> The ammunition of the American forces was so completely ruined, that they found it necessary to retreat beyond the reach of their opponents until they could renew the supply of that indispensable article. During this time the enemy succeeded in passing the Schuylkill, and advancing so near Philadelphia that Washington could not again throw his army between them and that city. It was therefore necessarily abandoned to its fate.

## CHAPTER IV.

Continuation of Campaign of 1777—Discipline of his Brigade—Council of War—Battle of Germantown—Position of the Enemy—American Plan of Attack—Progress of Main Body—Position of Wayne and Stephen—Progress of Left Column—Gains the Centre of Village—Muhlenberg's Charge—Defeat of British Right Wing—Retreat of American Main Body—Left Column surrounded—Its Retreat—Capture of the Ninth Virginia Regiment—Muhlenberg's Brigade retreats last—Exposure of his Person—Causes of the Censure attempted to be cast upon General Greene and the Left Column—Contemplated Attack upon Philadelphia—General Muhlenberg's Opinion on the Cantonment of the Troops—Opinion on a proposed Winter Campaign and Attack on Philadelphia—Remains at Valley Forge during the Winter—Attempts to capture Him—Anecdote—Dispute of Rank with General Woodford—Statement of the Case—Referred to Board of General Officers—Letter to Congress—Letters to and from General Washington—His Resignation not accepted—Letter to the Virginia Delegation—Resolution of Congress—Opinion of Patrick Henry—Settlement of the Dispute.

ALTHOUGH the season of the year was far advanced when the British forces took possession of

Philadelphia, neither army as yet thought of going into winter quarters. Before the enemy could quietly enjoy their conquest, it was necessary that the American forts on the Delaware should be destroyed, in order to afford free communication between their land and sea forces. On the other hand, General Washington, with his army on the western side of the city, and having command of the Delaware above and below, hoped by active operations to render Sir William Howe's position so precarious as to induce him to evacuate Philadelphia. With these views, the forts on the Delaware were reinforced, and much gallantry was displayed by the Americans in those posts before they were finally reduced, whilst the main army advanced as near to the enemy's lines as possible, prepared to act as circumstances might dictate. General Muhlenberg, with his brigade, still remained attached to Greene's division, and consequently, the movements of the main army are those only which this sketch will follow.

He seems, during the whole of this period, to have paid the most unremitting attention to the discipline of his brigade, thus sustaining his reputation as a strict disciplinarian; and judging from

the following passage extracted from his brigade orders of September 28th, not without effect: "The General informs the brigade that there have been great complaints of late against the soldiery for disobedience of general orders, and infractions of military discipline; and although *he flatters himself that few instances can be produced where general orders have been disobeyed in his brigade*, yet he wishes the colonels, as well as the other officers, to guard against any well-founded complaints in the future. As his Excellency is determined to look to the brigadiers for compliance with his orders in the brigade, so the brigadier will hold those responsible who have the more immediate command of the soldiery."

On the same day a council of general officers<sup>41</sup> was held, to whom the Commander-in-chief stated, that with the reinforcements recently arrived the army would be about eight thousand Continentals and three thousand militia, whilst the British force in Germantown was about eight thousand strong. He then desired their opinion as to whether an immediate attack should be made upon the enemy's advanced forces, or whether it should be postponed until the arrival of the further reinforcements ordered



from Peekskill, amounting to about two thousand five hundred men fit for duty. Considerable difference of opinion ensued; Brigadiers Smallwood, Wayne, Scott, Potter, and Irvine, voting that an attack should be made, whilst Major-Generals Sullivan, Greene, Sterling, Stephen, Armstrong, and Brigadiers M'Dougall, Knox, Muhlenberg, Nash, and Conway, expressed their opinion, that it should be deferred until after the arrival of the reinforcement. Had this resolution been adopted, the action at Germantown, instead of being a drawn battle, would probably have resulted in a complete victory.

A few days afterwards, however, the enemy's operations at the forts on the Delaware required them to detach a regiment from Germantown, and this further weakening of the outposts in the divided state of the British forces, seemed so favourable an opportunity for a vigorous attack upon the latter place, that it was resolved upon and directed to be made. As in this action General Muhlenberg distinguished himself greatly, although in the numerous quarrels and recriminations arising from it, he was deprived of the praise he had so justly earned, a

somewhat particular account of the affair will be necessary.

The village of Germantown was in that day approached from above by four principal roads, upon all of which the Americans advanced. The centre one was the direct road through the village to Philadelphia; the one on the right, known as the Ridge Road, ran nearly parallel to the first, and entered the main road below the village; whilst the one on the left, called the Lime Kiln Road, entered the village about midway, forming an acute angle with the central road. There was still another, further to the left, named the Old York Road, which entered the direct road immediately below the village.

The enemy were posted in the centre of the village, the line of their encampment being at right angles with the main road, which divided it into two almost equal parts. A regiment of light infantry was advanced on the main road, and another on the Lime Kiln Road, whilst two battalions of the guards observed the Old York Road, and the German chasseurs the Ridge Road.<sup>42</sup> The disposition of the enemy was therefore most excellent, and his troops very advantageously posted.

Nor was Washington's plan less skilful. He designed to attack both wings, in front and rear, at the same time, and thus annihilate or force them to surrender. His dispositions to effect this were as follows: on the main road advanced the divisions of Sullivan and Wayne, flanked by Conway's brigade, and followed by the reserve, consisting of Sterling's division and the brigades of Maxwell and Nash. On the Lime Kiln Road advanced the divisions of Greene and Stephen, flanked by M'Dougall's brigade, the former consisting of the Virginia brigades of Muhlenberg and Scott, and the whole commanded by General Greene, thus leaving the immediate command of his division to General Muhlenberg. On the right, Armstrong's militia, with whom was the Commander-in-chief, advanced by the Ridge Road, whilst on the extreme left, the Maryland militia, commanded by General Smallwood, an excellent officer with very bad troops, marched on the Old York Road. The two latter parties of militia, unfortunately for the success of the plan, scarcely did more than look at their opponents,<sup>43</sup> except some few corps of Armstrong's command, who afterwards joined the main body of the Americans.

The advance of the main column under Sullivan upon the direct road encountered the British pickets, which were soon driven in, but Colonel Musgrove, by throwing a portion of the 40th regiment into Chew's house, caused a delay and change of position, which proved most fatal to the progress of the left column under Greene, whose conduct we wish more particularly to trace. A regiment was left to observe Chew's house, whilst Sullivan's division made a detour to the right, and Wayne's to the left, and advanced. General Greene was moving forward upon the Lime Kiln Road with the division commanded by Muhlenberg on the left, and that under Stephen on the right, and as this column arrived about half an hour after Sullivan's, Wayne's division was directly in front of the position properly occupied by Stephen.

The original plan, that Sullivan and Wayne should attack that part of the enemy stationed on the right of the direct road, whilst Greene's command did the same with the portion on the left, was now broken in upon, while the fog and the peculiar nature of the ground prevented the change of disposition being made known. When Stephen's division advanced, finding a large body of troops in

front of them, seen indistinctly through the fog, they took it for granted that they must be enemies, and fired upon them. This not only threw Wayne into confusion, but retarded the advance of Stephen's division, which was thus separated from the remainder of Greene's column, and which it never rejoined.<sup>44</sup> In this position these troops remained until the retreat commenced, Sullivan's and Sterling's divisions on the right of the road and Wayne's on the left, between that and the Lime Kiln Road, whilst Stephen was directly in the rear of Wayne. None of these troops advanced beyond the outskirts of the village.

Let us now trace the progress of the remainder of the left column. This was headed by Greene in person, and consisted of only his own division under General Muhlenberg and M'Dougall's brigade. They advanced upon the left side of the road, and encountering a regiment of light infantry, the British advance, soon forced it to retire in confusion. Pressing rapidly forward they entered the village, near the centre of which they found the British right drawn up to receive them. Thus far the American left column had performed the entire duty allotted to them, and they were the only troops

on the field who had done so, and now that they had gained the position assigned them for their attack, they found opposed to them the whole right wing of the enemy drawn up in order of battle, whilst one half their own force was a mile in the rear, in utter confusion, with its commander unfortunately so intoxicated as to be unable to restore order.

But the troops so situated were the same who at Brandywine had held at bay the whole British army, and the reputation then gained they were determined not to lose upon this occasion. Although from the absence of Stephen's division, their opponents were almost double in number, not a moment's delay took place. The attack was made with a fierceness and impetuosity which staggered the enemy. For some time the contest was extremely sharp, but at length the British troops gave symptoms of wavering. At this critical moment, Muhlenberg's brigade, which was the leading one, advanced, led by himself personally, and charged their opponents with the bayonet. The two battalions of guards who were opposed to them stood the shock for a few moments, but the impetuosity and firmness of the charge were too great, and

finally the Continentals prevailed. The British right was now broken, and the Americans advanced, driving them at the point of the bayonet through their encampment into the village, and making many prisoners.<sup>45</sup>

The left column, with a force far inferior to the one originally assigned it, had thus far succeeded in turning the enemy's right flank and gaining his rear, which was precisely the duty the Commander-in-chief desired it to execute. Had the remainder of the army done as well, the victory would have been complete. It had penetrated to the centre of the village, full a mile beyond any other division of the army, and some of the regiments of Muhlenberg's brigade had actually passed through the village and gained the rear of the right wing.<sup>46</sup> The British left had advanced, so that Greene was in their rear and Sullivan in front; had the latter been able to persist in his attack, that portion of the enemy must have been captured or destroyed, and the regiments which had gained the rear of the right wing would most probably have effected the same result there. But instead of advancing, the main body was just commencing its retreat. The officers, with a few exceptions, had

done everything in men's power, but their ammunition was expended, and the disorder so great as to be irretrievable.

But this retreat had nearly proved fatal to the left column, and especially to General Muhlenberg and his brigade, who, having penetrated farthest into the enemy's lines, were at this time the most exposed. The British left wing, instead of pursuing the retreating Americans, immediately returned to the assistance of the right, and thus Greene very unexpectedly found himself attacked in front and rear. Scott's and M'Dougall's brigades were easily concentrated, but to extricate Muhlenberg's was a more difficult task. A violent struggle ensued, but finally the latter, who had penetrated into the enemy's lines at the point of the bayonet, forced his way back with the same weapon, and rejoined the column. In so doing, however, he lost all the prisoners he had captured, and the most advanced regiment of his brigade, (the 9th Virginia,<sup>47</sup> commanded by Colonel Matthews, an able and gallant officer,) was surrounded and compelled to surrender. These were the only prisoners taken by the enemy, and the left column was the only part of the American army which used the bayonet.<sup>48</sup> These



facts show what troops bore the brunt of the engagement.

Greene, with the other two brigades, had up to this time maintained his position with a tenacity bordering upon desperation, determined at all odds to rescue his favourite brigadier, who with his whole command would otherwise inevitably have been captured. That being done, the column commenced its retreat, and soon joined Stephen's division, which having been scarcely engaged, was able to protect the remainder of the march.

During the early part of this retreat, an incident occurred which showed how recklessly General Muhlenberg exposed his person, and in which his skill as a shot probably saved his life. It happened near the village, where the ground was cut up into small enclosures strongly fenced. His brigade, being the last, was of course most exposed to the attacks of the enemy; and he very properly insisted upon bringing up the rear himself. In so doing he was several times nearly taken; and upon one occasion, whilst Captain Hubley and some men were pulling down a fence which his tired horse was unable to leap, he was aroused from the doze into which fatigue and loss of sleep had thrown him,

(having been on horseback for the greater part of two nights and a day,) by the whistling of a ball past his ear, and the cry running along the British ranks—"Pick off that officer on the white horse!" Turning round, he saw a young English officer who had taken a musket from one of his men, and fired at him personally. He was about renewing the experiment, when the General, drawing a pistol from his holster, although at some distance, shot him through the head. His fall stopped the firing, and the General rejoined his brigade.<sup>49</sup>

The American army retreated the same day about twenty miles to the Perkiomen Creek; but being reinforced in a short time by the arrival of the troops from Peekskill, it soon resumed its old position on the Skippack.

As at Brandywine, the Virginians had again been the heroes of the day, and again were they deprived of the praise so justly deserved. Had justice been done upon this occasion, General Muhlenberg's name would have figured prominently among those who highly distinguished themselves. Several reasons will account for this not being done. The attack was unsuccessful, and as at Brandywine, it might have been productive of injurious conse-

quences to have complimented a part of the army at the expense of the rest. Much indignation, too, was expressed at the conduct of General Stephen, the major-general of the Virginia line, who was afterwards cashiered for intoxication and shameful conduct on the retreat; and this no doubt had its effect in producing prejudice against the Virginia troops. But the great reason arose from the dissensions in the army and the influence of the Conway cabal. Not yet strong enough to strike openly at the Commander-in-chief, they attempted to destroy his friends. Upon this occasion General Greene was selected as the victim; and although it would puzzle the keenest intellect to discover anything save what was commendable in his own conduct or that of his division, yet prejudice, falsehood, and malignant hostility raised so great a clamour, that for a time it was really believed by a portion of the community that the conduct of the left column had been most shameful.<sup>50</sup> As the cabal had at this time a strong party in the army, the Commander-in-chief may have deemed it proper for the interests of the service to give them no ground for charging him with partiality; and thus the Virginians were again compelled to rest satisfied with

the consciousness of having most gallantly discharged their entire duty. At all events, the despatch of General Washington was confined entirely to the conduct of the main body, referring Congress to General Greene's report for information as to the left column. Future historians, however, did Greene and his officers justice; and after the lapse of so many years, this sketch has at last presented the whole conduct of General Muhlenberg in its proper light.

To supply the loss of the ninth Virginia regiment, which had been destroyed or captured in the late engagement, the state regiment from Virginia, which had recently arrived among other reinforcements, was ordered to join General Muhlenberg's brigade.

After the battle of Germantown a number of court-martials were held, upon all of which General Muhlenberg was detailed—certainly one of the most disagreeable duties which fall to the lot of a soldier. Wayne was tried for the surprise at Paoli, and honourably acquitted; Stephen for intoxication at Germantown, and cashiered; and Maxwell for the like offence at Brandywine.

Although now near the close of the month of

October, both armies were still in the field. The British, since the attack upon Germantown, had withdrawn their forces from that place, and concentrating them in and about Philadelphia, turned their whole attention to the destruction of the American works on the Delaware. In the mean time Washington retained a position as near as possible to Philadelphia, determined to risk an action upon the first favourable opportunity, before the union of the enemy's land and sea forces. General Howe, however, acted with so much caution and circumspection as to render this impossible.

On the 29th of October a council of general officers<sup>51</sup> was called; and the Commander-in-chief, after stating the relative strength of the two armies, desired an expression of opinion as to the practicability of an attack upon Philadelphia. After considerable debate, it was pronounced not advisable; but the army still remained in the field. Late in the following month, the absence of Cornwallis with two thousand men seemed to present a favourable opportunity for an attack, and the proposition was again laid before a council. Four general officers, among whom was General Muhlenberg, voted in favour of the attack being made; but the

majority were opposed to it, and the project was relinquished.

The season of the year was now so far advanced that it became absolutely necessary to seek proper winter quarters for the army; and accordingly the commanding officers were consulted upon the subject of the cantonment of the troops. The following opinion was given by General Muhlenberg :

“I would beg leave to premise that, agreeably to my sentiments, the army should continue in a position where they can most effectually annoy the enemy, until it shall be absolutely necessary, on account of the severity of the weather, to quit the field. That the preservation of the army, by getting them into good winter quarters, will be of much greater utility than any small advantages which can be gained over the enemy by keeping the army near their lines.

“With regard to the place proper for the army to take winter quarters, I must confess I am more inclined to join in sentiment with those gentlemen who propose Lancaster as the right of the cantonment, and Reading for the left, than with those who propose Wilmington. My reasons are these: Wilmington, &c., are so near the enemy, that there is

the greatest probability of their frequently alarming us; consequently the end intended, that is, the ease of the army, will not be answered.

“ Our army will certainly diminish at least for the winter by a number of soldiers receiving permission to return to the different states they came from, which would perhaps enable the enemy to obtain material advantages over us, especially, if it should be found necessary, on account of covering, to quarter the men some distance apart.

“ The upper part of Pennsylvania would be left entirely at the mercy of the enemy, and the communication with the Eastern States cut off.

“ The enemy will have it in their power to draw more supplies from the Jerseys, than it would be possible for them to draw from the lower counties, even if they were entirely given up to them; for if the army lay at Wilmington, one armed vessel would be sufficient to prevent us from affording any relief to the Jerseys.

“ Perhaps if your Excellency was to order some person to reconnoitre the country from Reading to Easton, it would be found more eligible to make Reading the right of the cantonment, and Easton the left, than any other place proposed, especially

if the hint thrown out by a gentleman in council was adopted, that is, to erect huts for the more robust, and let the feeble be quartered in houses.

“ In Reading the refugees from Philadelphia are less numerous than in Lancaster and Lebanon. Reading, Allentown, Bethlehem, and Easton, lie in a direct line very near the same distance from Philadelphia ; a few miles in front of this line, in Maxatawny and Macungy, one, if not two divisions may be quartered with the utmost ease, and here the troops would be ready either to protect our stores, or prevent any considerable ravages of the country.”

The leading ideas of this opinion, the giving up the lower counties to the enemy and taking a position in the interior of Pennsylvania, were afterwards adopted by the Commander-in-chief, although the troops were concentrated in one encampment, which was not thrown so far back as the line proposed by this letter.

Although the last council had decided against an attack upon Philadelphia, yet that object was still uppermost in the minds of the civilians. Accordingly about this time a winter campaign was proposed, the leading idea of which was, an attack



upon Philadelphia, with the aid of a body of militia to be assembled. General Muhlenberg's written reply was desired by the Commander-in-chief upon the next morning, and it gives so correct a view of the then state of things, that its perusal will not be uninteresting.

“Camp, Dec. 4, 1777.

“SIR,

“Your Excellency was pleased to desire the opinion of your general officers ‘on the advisability of a winter campaign, and practicability of an attack upon Philadelphia, with the aid of a considerable body of militia, to be assembled at an appointed time and place.’ I must confess that to me this question seems so much interwoven with the question your Excellency was pleased to put a few days ago, that I can hardly separate them.

“The main point I conceive is still, whether a winter campaign is practicable; if not, the last question falls, of course, unless the time is the spring. A winter campaign seems to me not only unadvisable, on account of our situation, but impracticable, at least if I am to judge of other brigades by my own, one single regiment of which has turned out

ninety men unfit for duty on account of shoes and other necessaries. The sick become numerous, and the men, notwithstanding the utmost care of their officers, will be frost-bitten and subject to many other disorders, if they are to keep the field until the militia can be collected, which, if we are to judge from the past, cannot be done in less than two months. In the mean time it cannot be expected that the enemy will remain idle. Their works will be continued, their vessels, which are now before the town, will not only furnish them with cannon, but with marines and sailors ; so that in all probability before the militia can be collected, an attack will be thought impracticable upon the same grounds, and perhaps with more reason, than at present. At the time when this hint was first thrown out in council, I was pleased with it, as there seemed a probability of success ; but I had no idea that a winter campaign was so closely connected with the plan. This in my opinion would prove more fatal to the army under your Excellency's command, than an unfortunate attack on the town. I am far, however, from thinking that the plan ought to be dropped entirely. If the army was to go into winter quarters where the men could be

refreshed and clothed, and remain there until the latter end of March, the militia could be collected in the mean time ; then a vigorous attack could be made with a probability of success.

“ Thus I have given your Excellency my sentiments on the question proposed, as clearly as the shortness of the time I had for consideration, which was only a few minutes this morning, would permit me. The utility of hearing a question debated is great at least to a young soldier. Should the question be decided otherwise, your Excellency may be assured, that any part entrusted to me shall be executed with the greatest cheerfulness.

“ Your Excellency’s

“ Most obedient and very humble servant,

“ P. MUHLENBERG.”

The opinions of the officers were, however, unfavourable to the feasibility of the plan, and the scheme was dropped. The army now prepared to go into winter quarters.

General Washington upon his own responsibility had selected Valley Forge as the ground for the cantonment of the troops, a position which secured their stores and prevented the enemy from ravaging

the country. Accordingly, in December the army encamped here, erecting huts for the whole force. The brigades were arranged in a semicircle along the bank of the Schuylkill immediately below the Valley Creek, that commanded by Muhlenberg being upon the river's bank, and consequently the nearest towards the enemy. Being most exposed, it had charge of some small redoubts, erected for the security of the position.

General Muhlenberg accompanied the army into winter quarters, and remained with them during the whole of that terrible season. Of the privations there endured it is unnecessary to speak ; they are a matter of history and were common to the whole army.

Whilst the Continental forces remained here, however, he several times narrowly escaped being captured by scouting parties of the enemy. His father still resided at the Trappe, but a few miles distant, and he was in the habit of occasionally riding there from camp in the evening, and returning early the next morning. This place was often approached by the enemy's light cavalry, and accordingly great precautions were taken by the family to prevent his presence being known. Blankets were hung before

the windows and doors, to prevent his being seen by any lurking spies, and his presence was carefully concealed from all suspicious persons. He himself would never undress or allow his horse to be unsaddled. Presuming upon the probability of his visiting his aged father, repeated attempts were made to capture him, and upon one occasion he was only saved by the fleetness of his horse.<sup>52</sup>

Another anecdote<sup>53</sup> is told of him, which shows not only the influence of his early education, but also how correct was his appreciation of the bullying, swearing class of soldiers then so common. It is as follows. Upon some occasion, whilst the army was at Valley Forge, the American outposts had had a brush with the enemy, in which the former were defeated, and rumour had magnified the affair into a serious disaster. On the reception of the news, the General, then at the Trappe, was taunted by an exulting Tory with "Well, General! have you heard the news? What do you think of your army now?" "Ah!" was the reply, "that is nothing—it was only some of our God-damn-me and damn-my-eyes fellows; when our real soldiers come into action, you will hear a different account." The future proved the truth of his remark.

About this time the dispute as to the rank of the general officers of the Virginia line, before referred to, took place. It was the source of much trouble to General Muhlenberg, and induced him to tender his resignation to the Commander-in-chief. A perusal of the portion of the correspondence which the limits of this sketch permit to be given, will beyond all doubt convince the reader that General Muhlenberg was hardly dealt by; but the spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion to the great cause which the occurrence proved him to possess, only served to place his character in a brighter light. Although only of personal interest, the result of this dispute was of such importance to him that its explanation is indispensably necessary.

The following brief statement of facts will be sufficient for the full comprehension of the dispute. It is extracted from the "case"<sup>54</sup> laid before the board of officers called to consider the claim made by General Woodford, which board was composed of all the major and brigadier generals of the army. It must be premised, however, that this claim was not made until a year had elapsed after their promotion; that during all this time General Woodford acquiesced in the superior rank of General Muh-

lenberg, served under his command, and had even at the time of his promotion addressed a letter<sup>55</sup> to General Weedon, (who was confessedly inferior in rank to General Muhlenberg,) congratulating him on his elevation, and stating that he would be happy and willing to serve under his command.

In July, 1775, Woodford was appointed colonel of the second Virginia state regiment. On the 13th of February, 1776, he was appointed colonel of the second Continental regiment, and Muhlenberg of the eighth; Scott, lieutenant-colonel of the second, and Weedon of the third. On the 9th of June, Scott was appointed colonel of the fifth, and Weedon of the third, the former ranking above the latter. On the 3d of September, Colonel Woodford resigned his commission, because Colonel Stephen was promoted over his head. On the 21st of February, 1777, Muhlenberg, Weedon, and Woodford, were appointed brigadier-generals, Congress expressly declaring that they should rank as above named. On the 1st of April, Scott was appointed a brigadier-general. On the 19th of August, Congress determined the principle, that in all promotions, the relative rank of officers promoted should be determined by the date of the commissions held

by them at the time of their promotion, which principle was confirmed by a resolution of the 12th of November; and on the 29th of the same month, Congress declared that the rank of Generals Arnold, Woodford, and Scott, should be settled agreeably to this principle. All these resolutions concurred in making General Muhlenberg the senior officer of the Virginia line; but backed by strong Congressional influence, General Woodford claimed that rank, because before his resignation he was the eldest colonel; to which resignation he was compelled by the injustice done him. To this claim Generals Muhlenberg and Weedon objected; Scott claimed to rank Weedon, because he did so when colonel; to this Weedon objected, because he was made a brigadier two months before Scott.

Perhaps the reason of this sudden claim on the part of General Woodford arose from the fact that the senior brigadier of the Virginia line would in all probability be promoted to the commission made vacant by the disgrace of Major-General Stephen.

The board of general officers met at Lord Sterling's quarters on the 2d of March, and by a majority of a single vote decided in favour of



General Woodford, referring, however, the final decision of the matter to Congress. General Muhlenberg was not heard before this board, although his opponent enjoyed that advantage. He then addressed the following letter to Congress.

“Camp, March 7th, 1778.

“GENTLEMEN,

“The board of general officers appointed to settle the rank of Generals Woodford, Weedon, Scott, and myself, having referred the final determination to the honourable the Congress, I beg leave to mention a few particulars on that subject; and as General Woodford has already stated the case, I shall be as concise as possible.

“At the time when General Woodford resigned his commission as colonel, he ranked as the first colonel in the Virginia line, myself as the fourth; but by the resignation of Colonel Woodford and others, and by the disgrace of Colonel Buckner, I became first. Thus we stood on the 21st of February, 1777, when Weedon, Woodford, and myself were appointed brigadiers.

“When Colonel Woodford was promoted to the rank of brigadier, it was not on account of his

former standing in the army as senior colonel, but merely as a favour for former services done.

“This appears plainly by the resolves of Congress at and subsequent to his promotion, and in this light I always presumed General Woodford viewed it himself, as he never claimed precedence over Weedon and myself until almost twelve months after his promotion.

“The commission I received from the honourable Congress as oldest brigadier in the Virginia line was unsought for and unsolicited. This commission mentions in a particular manner that I am to have precedence of General Woodford; and this commission is moreover supported by two resolves of Congress, enough in all conscience to make it as the laws of the Medes and Persians, irrevocable; in short, Congress have been pleased to honour me with a commission of importance; I have endeavoured to render myself worthy of it, by serving my country to the utmost of my abilities, nor am I conscious of having, by any part of my conduct while in the army, rendered myself unworthy of the trust reposed in me, or of remaining in the service of my country, which in point of

honour I can only do in that post to which by my commission I am entitled.

“I am, gentlemen, with much respect,

“Your most obedient, humble servant,

“P. MUHLENBERG.

“To the Honourable the  
Committee of Congress,  
At Moorhall.”

The following letters<sup>56</sup> upon the subject, also passed between himself and General Washington.

“April 10th, 1778.

“SIR,

“Colonel Meade was with me this morning, desiring me to give your Excellency a final answer, in what manner I intended to act with regard to the dispute between Generals Woodford, Weedon, and myself. Though I have had time enough to consider of it, I have still put it off, as I expected nothing would be done in the matter until General Weedon's return.

“This affair has been often canvassed within my hearing by the officers of the army, and I

find the generality of them are of opinion that the change would have taken place if General Woodford had had no claims, as Congress were determined to put him in a post where he might have the first chance of promotion. I must confess, that neither honour nor ambition were the leading principles which actuated me when I entered the service, neither shall they be the cause of my quitting it at present. But your Excellency will acknowledge that much depends on opinion, and whenever an officer disgraces himself in the opinion of his brother officers of inferior rank, his influence and authority become despicable. Fond as I should be of continuing in the service of my country, I do not think I could do it with propriety, unless some reasons were given for the change. This would justify me to my friends, and to the army in general, for I cannot help thinking that something more is required for our meridian, than barely to 'call in and cancel.'

"Your Excellency will, I hope, pardon me for writing my sentiments so freely; but should your Excellency be of opinion that I have not been injured, and can serve with propriety, I shall

always think myself happy in obeying your Excellency's commands.

"I have the honour to be

"Your most obedient servant,

"P. MUHLENBERG.

"To General Washington."

To this letter the Commander-in-chief immediately replied as follows :

"Head-quarters, April 10, 1778.

"DEAR SIR,

"In answer to yours of this morning, I have only to say, that the matter respecting your rank and that of Generals Woodford, Weedon, and Scott, has been fully discussed at several times by Congress, the committees of Congress, and a board of general officers, whose opinions all seemed to correspond.

"This contradicts the report that Congress were at all events determined to give a preference to General Woodford, as it appears to me that their determination was founded upon the proceedings of the general officers. Their report was short,

because they had papers before them which fully evinced that the respective claims had been duly considered, and there was therefore no need of recapitulating all that had passed. You know my opinion, which has been given in a conversation between us.

“I cannot judge of the feelings of others, but my own should generally be regulated by the opinions of a set of gentlemen who I conceive have been actuated by the purest principles of impartiality and justice; and I do not think that any officer will look upon a submission to their decision as dishonourable. I would not be thought to press you to a hasty decision upon this matter; but when you consider that we are upon the verge of the campaign, you will think with me that no time is to be lost; because if a successor should be necessary, he will scarcely have time to be acquainted with the brigade before they are called to action.

“Yours, &c.,

“G. WASHINGTON.”

“To Brig. Gen. Muhlenberg.”

The resolution<sup>57</sup> which passed Congress, directed General Washington “to call in and cancel the

commissions of Generals Muhlenberg, Weedon, Woodford, and Scott, and issue new ones in the following order:—Woodford, Muhlenberg, Scott, and Weedon.” Upon this, General Weedon, who was an excellent officer, resigned; and after the receipt of the above letter, General Muhlenberg waited on the Commander-in-chief to ask his permission to do the same. Washington was, however, unwilling to part with him, and he consented to remain until he could leave without prejudice to the service. This not only shows the value Washington set on his services, but also the purity of the motives which led General Muhlenberg into the army; for at this time the pay of an officer was insufficient even to clothe him; no future provision had been made for them; and when officers were resigning by hundreds, to remain in the army after so great an act of injustice had been done him, showed a degree of patriotism rarely found.

This dispute remained undecided until April, 1779, when General Muhlenberg presented the following memorial to Congress. Its clear statement of the points at issue, and the modest sketch of his own conduct, will perhaps not prove uninteresting.

“SIR,—

“I have endeavoured to state my claim, and give my reasons why I ought to rank before General Woodford, but cannot be so particular as I could wish, as I have left all my papers relative thereto in camp. I shall therefore only trouble you with the most material points. General Woodford was appointed colonel of a regiment in 1775: I was appointed in 1776; so that General Woodford at that time was my superior officer. Some time in 1776, Colonels Stephen and Mercer, who were younger colonels than Woodford, were appointed brigadiers, which occasioned General Woodford to resign, as thinking himself neglected. Colonel Buckner being broke for misconduct, I became the oldest colonel in the Virginia line, and was appointed a brigadier on the 21st of February, 1777, together with Generals Weedon and Woodford. My rank as the first brigadier in the Virginia line was established by three different resolves of Congress. I was commissioned and acknowledged as such during the campaign of 1777, and for some months after, until General Woodford, in March, 1778, obtained a special resolve of Congress, by which I was superseded, and he was ordered to take rank of me.



“There was indeed a board of general officers called to settle the dispute subsisting between us. General Woodford gave in his claim, but I was not called upon, so that unless they had a spirit of divination, they could not know what I had to offer in my own behalf. There were at this time but few general officers in camp, some of whom having heard only one part of the story, were prepossessed against me, and gave their opinion in favour of General Woodford before they were called upon to decide the matter. Nevertheless, there was but a majority of one who gave it in favour of General Woodford.

“When the honourable the Congress were pleased to pass the last resolve in favour of General Woodford, I waited on his Excellency the Commander-in-chief, and requested his permission to resign; but as the campaign was just opening, and finding his Excellency unwilling to spare me at that time, I promised to continue until I could retire without prejudice to the service, or until the end of the campaign.

“At the conclusion of the last campaign, I found it impracticable to quit the army, as I was the only

general officer of the Virginia line then in camp, and therefore could not be spared.

“I have hitherto retained the commission I first received as brigadier, which gave me rank of General Woodford, and cannot in justice to myself accept an inferior one, unless it can be done in a manner that will give no occasion for thinking I was superseded for misconduct. However, as Congress have been pleased to fix certain principles for the arrangement of the army, one of which is “that resignations shall exclude all pretensions to former rank,” I cannot think I shall be the only exception.

“General Woodford claims rank from having been appointed a colonel before me; but when he was appointed a brigadier, he was taken from the body of the people at large, and had no connexion with the army. He had resigned nine months before, so that I have served longer as a colonel than General Woodford; and during the time he remained at home, I made a distressing campaign in South Carolina and Georgia.

“This, sir, I believe will be sufficient to show the ground I claim upon. I should perhaps have given in my claim sooner, but the General has

been so much distressed with disputes of this kind, that I was loth to trouble him.

“I shall be happy if the matter can be settled without troubling his Excellency further.

“I am, sir,

“With respect and esteem,

“Your most obedient, humble servant,

“P. MUHLENBERG.

“Hon. Thomas Adams, and other  
Members of Congress for the  
State of Virginia, Philadelphia.”

This ably penned letter was referred to the Board of War, who reported, that “as the memorialist, with a becoming zeal for the service, would be satisfied with an explanation of the resolution of Congress passed the 19th of March, 1778,” that they therefore recommended the passage of a resolution<sup>68</sup> stating “That the arrangement then made was founded upon principles not affecting the personal characters or comparative merits of those officers.” This resolution was passed unanimously; and although General Muhlenberg had undoubtedly been deprived of his just rank, yet actuated by motives of patriotism, and disinclined to give further trouble to General Washington, he ac-

quiesced in this settlement of this long-disputed question. General Weedon, also, who had retired from the service, returned to it again in the year 1780.

The justice of General Muhlenberg's claim seems to have been generally admitted, except of course by the peculiar friends of General Woodford. The following extract of a letter from Patrick Henry to General Muhlenberg, dated Sept. 6, 1778, is selected from many others; for, as the executive of Virginia, it is natural to suppose that he had thoroughly examined the dispute existing between the two highest officers in the line of that state. "Let me take the liberty just to hint, that I think a resignation now might defeat a claim which otherwise, I trust, will be approved by every one."

Thus ended this dispute, which was most annoying to General Muhlenberg personally, but its occurrence cannot be regretted, since it established beyond all doubt, the purity and sincerity of the motives by which he was actuated.

## CHAPTER V.

Opening of the Campaign of 1778—Plans of Operation proposed—General Muhlenberg's Opinion—Rejoicings at Valley Forge—Council of War—Opinion on the Propriety of a General Action—Evacuation of Philadelphia—Council of War—Battle of Monmouth—Position of his Brigade—Attack upon Greene's Division—Conduct in the Action—Army at the White Plains—Reorganization of Brigades—Muhlenberg advanced to King's Bridge—Proposed March to the Eastward—His Opinion—Selection of Winter Quarters—Application for Leave of Absence—Washington's Reply—Assigned the Command of a Division—Dinner to General Putnam—March to Middlebrook—Sudden Return—Gaiety at Middlebrook—Preparations for the Campaign—March of the Army to the Highlands—Attack upon Stony Point—Arrangement of the Virginia Line—Ordered to the South with his Command—Destination Changed—Directed to assume the chief command in Virginia.

THE campaign of 1778 was now about opening, its commencement having been delayed thus long by the severity of the weather, and the condition of both armies. General Muhlenberg was at this time

with the main army, having remained at Valley Forge during the whole winter, with the exception of an absence of a few weeks in Virginia, during the month of February. He had gone thither to arrange his private affairs, this being the first leave of absence given him since his entry into the service; but hearing of the probable result of his dispute with General Woodford, he had returned without accomplishing his object, not intending to retain his commission. The reasons which induced a change of purpose have already been stated.

In the latter part of April, before the determination of the enemy to evacuate Philadelphia was suspected, three plans<sup>59</sup> of operation were under the consideration of the Commander-in-chief. One was the remaining quiet in a fortified camp, another an attack upon Philadelphia, and the third the capture of New York, either by a coup-de-main, or by regular approaches. The opinions of the general officers were as usual desired upon these points, and the following extracts from General Muhlenberg's letter will perhaps prove interesting, as showing the correctness of his judgment, and especially that his zeal for the service had not been cooled by the wound given to his military pride.

“Agreeably to your Excellency’s requisition, I have investigated the proposition, and endeavoured to form my opinion with regard to the three general plans of operation proposed for the ensuing campaign. I shall begin with the last plan proposed, ‘the remaining quiet in a secure fortified camp, disciplining and arranging the army until the enemy begin their operations, and then to govern ourselves accordingly.’

“This, in my humble opinion, would be by far the least eligible plan of the three. I do not think there has been a time since the commencement of the war, in which it was so necessary to make some spirited effort as it will be at the opening of this campaign; and should the main army under your Excellency’s command remain inactive, it would add much to the almost universal languor which at this time too much prevails throughout the continent. The only real good we could reap from this plan would be the arranging and disciplining the army, which, though great in itself and obvious to the discerning few, is not of that splendid kind which the people in general wish and look for, and which is so necessary in our present situation, to keep the bulk of our people together. Success

alone, in consequence of this plan, could justify the measure to the country and posterity ; but Fortune is a jilt.

“ Secondly, ‘ the attempt to recover Philadelphia, and destroy the enemy’s army there.’

“ This, if it could be effected, would terminate the dispute, and establish the independence of America. The solid advantages that would accrue to America from the execution of this plan would justify the risk, and compensate for the loss we should probably sustain in its execution. If the enemy’s force consists of ten thousand men besides seamen and marines, they will be able to man their works fully, and as a measure of this kind cannot be carried into execution without the enemy’s perceiving our intention for some time before the plan is ripe, they will have time to complete their system of defence, and effectually prevent the carrying it by storm, or perhaps by a regular siege with any number of men we shall be able to bring against them ; so that the only method in my opinion would be to reduce the city by blockade. To effect this, twenty-five thousand men at least will be required on this side of the Delaware, fifteen thousand of these to take post as near



the city as possible, extending their line from Delaware to Schuylkill, with sufficient works to prevent the enemy from making an impression on, or surprising the line. The remaining ten thousand to be posted on this side of Schuylkill, their camp to be fortified, and, if possible (as I think it is), to extend to Delaware to prevent the enemy from receiving supplies through that channel. The whole militia of the Jerseys to occupy the Jersey shore opposite the city and as low as Billingsport.

“The last plan proposed, ‘the endeavouring to transfer the war to the northward by an enterprise against New York’ is, I must confess, my favourite. If nothing was gained by the enterprise but transferring the war to the northward, the advantage would be great, as the country is so much better calculated not only for supplying the army, but we should be in the neighbourhood of states where the militia would be ready and willing to turn out on any emergency to join the grand army,—a militia well affected, well armed and to be depended on; and there is also the greatest probability that New York will fall into our hands. The enemy in their present situation cannot maintain both cities; if they send strong reinforcements from Philadelphia, that

city must fall ; if they keep their force together in Philadelphia, New York must fall. Another reason that weighs forcibly with me is, that we shall in a little time have all the succours we can expect from the southward, so that our expectation of assistance from that quarter to carry on an expedition against Philadelphia will be small. An enterprise against New York is, as I have heard, a favourite scheme with the Eastern States, and New England would pour forth her thousands to carry the plan into execution. Twenty thousand men would be necessary to invest the place, and we should then be able to carry it even if the enemy should reinforce the garrison before we could get into the city ; but how these men are to be disposed of, I shall not pretend to say, as I am only acquainted with the situation of the place from the map.

“ To cover and protect this state, an army of observation, consisting of seven or eight thousand men, besides the militia of the state, should be left to watch the motions of the enemy in Philadelphia, and to make an attempt on the city in case the enemy should send considerable reinforcements to the relief of New York. Our military and other stores should be removed to the other side of the

Susquehanna, to prevent a possibility of their being destroyed by the enemy.

“If this plan is adopted, every measure should be taken to induce the enemy to believe that our principal force is intended to act against Philadelphia, and no part of the army move towards New York until everything is ready for the enterprise; for, should the enemy be deceived by appearances, before they could reinforce New York, the place might be carried by a coup-de-main, and their valuable stores fall into our hands.”

Early in May, great rejoicings took place at Valley Forge, on the reception of the news of the French alliance.<sup>60</sup> The quaint style of the order given on the occasion would be interesting to the curious, but the limits of this work forbid its being transferred to these pages. The whole army was drawn up in two lines, and after firing a feu-de-joie, on a signal given, it was ordered to “Huzza, long live the King of France!” then another fire and the cry of “Huzza, and long live the friendly European powers!” and finally a discharge of cannon and a “Huzza to the American States!” Such a demonstration in this day would be thought strange enough.

On the 28th of this month, General Lee assumed the command of the division composed of Muhlenberg's and Scott's brigades, in the place of General Greene, who had been appointed Quartermaster-General, and the second Virginia state regiment was added to the former brigade, thus completing its numbers and placing it in a high state of efficiency.

The enemy had now sufficiently developed their intention of evacuating Philadelphia, to enable General Washington to proceed with some reasonable certainty upon this hypothesis, and the proposed attack upon New York was therefore abandoned. A council of war was held on the 17th of June, to decide upon the course proper for the American army to pursue, the principal questions put to them being, whether an attack should be made on Philadelphia, and whether the enemy's retreat should be impeded by a general or partial engagement. These queries were prefaced by a statement of the respective force of the two armies, which was represented by the Commander-in-chief to be as follows. The British in and about Philadelphia were estimated at about ten thousand men fit for duty; whilst the Americans at Valley Forge numbered

about twelve thousand five hundred effectives, of whom eleven thousand would be able to march off the ground, leaving behind them nearly five thousand sick. Further, that when the two armies were concentrated about New York, the enemy would be from fourteen to fifteen thousand strong, whilst the Americans would have nearly fourteen thousand Continentals fit for service.<sup>61</sup>

The expression against an attack upon Philadelphia was unanimous; but on the other question, considerable difference of opinion ensued in the council. Of sixteen general officers present, General Wayne was the only one who was in favour of a general attack, Lafayette inclining to that opinion without openly embracing it. General Greene was inclined to take a middle course, being in favour of an engagement if necessary to protect the country; and in this opinion he was supported by General Muhlenberg, who in his letter uses the following language.

“If the enemy should attempt to pass through the Jerseys to New York, they are so well prepared, and the obstructions the militia will be able to throw in their way so trifling, that this army will not be able to overtake them before they reach the

place of their destination. Should this be the case, it would be necessary to march immediately to secure the important posts on the North River. But should the enemy, instead of marching through the Jerseys, endeavour to establish themselves, and get a permanent footing in that state, it would then become necessary to risk even a general action, if a favourable opportunity offered, as the destruction of that state would be productive of worse consequences to the United States than a partial defeat of this army."

These views, however, did not prevail; all the other officers deciding that no attack, either partial or general, should be made. Lee, Steuben, and Du Portail were warmly of this opinion; and the influence of these experienced European officers most probably brought about this decision of the council.

On the 18th of June, the British evacuated Philadelphia, directing their march across the Jerseys to New York. The former city had proved a second Capua to Sir William Howe's army. He had landed the preceding fall fully eighteen thousand men at the head of Elk, and certainly not more than eleven thousand marched out of the city.

Their loss in battle had been small, and their comfortable quarters had kept the army unusually healthy; so that this terrible diminution can be only accounted for by the spirit of desertion, which, among the Hessians especially, prevailed to a very great degree. On the day following, the American army broke up its cantonments at Valley Forge, and moved towards Coryell's Ferry, General Lee with his division and three other brigades moving in advance of the main army.

Owing to an extensive circuit which was rendered necessary to reach Coryell's Ferry, the army did not cross the Delaware until the 22d of June. At that time the following arrangement<sup>62</sup> of the troops was made for the march through the Jerseys, that the order of battle might be known in case of any sudden emergency. The right wing, commanded by General Lee, consisted of Woodford's, Scott's North Carolina, Poor's, Varnum's, and Huntingdon's brigades. The left, under Major-General Lord Sterling, was formed of the first and second Pennsylvania, late Conway's, Glover's, Learned's, and Patterson's; whilst the second line, commanded by Major-General the Marquis de Lafayette, was composed of Muhlenberg's, Weedon's,

first and second Maryland, and Maxwell's brigades. The march was to commence from the left.

On the 24th, another council was held, which resulted in the determination to send forward only fifteen hundred men to strengthen the advance. Although this was the public decision of the council, influenced as they were by the opinions of the European officers, yet it seems to be a well-established fact that the general officers were about equally divided in wishing or not wishing an engagement. The Americans at this time lay in the vicinity of Princeton, and the enemy in and about Allentown, whilst the direction of the latter's march was such that if the Americans advanced, a collision must necessarily ensue.

General Scott was selected to command the reinforcement sent to the advance, which shortly afterwards, on the individual responsibility of the Commander-in-chief, was strengthened by a detachment of one thousand picked men under General Wayne, and the Marquis de Lafayette sent forward to command the whole. General Lee, who had been opposed to any engagement, and who had consequently declined the command of the advance so long as he thought nothing serious was intended,



now that the vanguard was strengthened to nearly five thousand rank and file, evidently with the intention of attacking the enemy, thought it necessary, in justice to himself, to apply for the command which properly belonged to him. His request was not refused, and he was accordingly sent forward with two additional brigades to assume command of all troops advanced.

Sir Henry Clinton, who presumed that the intention of the Americans was to strike at the immense train which accompanied his army, very wisely took the resolution of offering battle for its preservation. The baggage was put under the charge of Lieutenant-General Knyphausen, who with a strong column moved off at daybreak, whilst Sir Henry, with the remainder of the army, under the immediate command of Lord Cornwallis, took post in the vicinity of Freehold. About eight o'clock this division commenced its march, but was very shortly after attacked by General Wayne in so vigorous a manner as to compel them to draw up in order of battle. Their force was so overwhelming as to induce General Lee, who thought the ground unfavourable to a general action, to order or permit a retreat, the object of which was to draw

the enemy through the defile to a position where, if defeated, their retreat would be cut off. This retreat was conclusively proved by the evidence before the court-martial to have been conducted with skill and order; for although vague charges of disorder were heard, yet every officer examined strenuously denied its existence in his own command. In the midst of this retreat the Commander-in-chief rode up, and, much incensed, ordered the troops to be immediately formed on the ground they then occupied; which was very nearly or quite the position which General Lee wished to take. The order was instantly obeyed; the troops formed with the greatest precision, and the battle commenced.

General Muhlenberg's brigade in this action formed a part of the right wing of the second line, under the immediate command of General Greene, who had stipulated on accepting the office of quartermaster-general, that in time of action he should still command his division. It was these troops who, taking a position contrary to orders<sup>63</sup> on the right of the American line, first checked the advance of the enemy, and afterwards, by the well-directed fire of their artillery, materially aided in

discomfiting an attack made upon Lord Sterling's command.

The occurrence is thus related in Johnson's *Life of Greene*:—"During the action, on a movement being made by the enemy which threatened the right of Washington's line, Greene was ordered to file off about two miles from Englishtown, and fall into the Monmouth road a small distance in the rear of the court-house, while the residue of the army proceeded directly forward. This movement would have brought him into the rear of the position in which the armies were now engaged. He had already advanced some distance, but hearing of the retreat of the party under Lee, and foreseeing that it would expose the troops immediately under Washington to the whole weight of the enemy's attack, he immediately changed his route, and took an advantageous position near the enemy's left. As he had foreseen, this movement withdrew the enemy from his designs against the left, or first line of the American army, and drew on a most furious attack upon his own division. General Knox, who commanded the artillery of this division, poured in a most destructive fire upon the advancing line; and being seconded by the infantry with the greatest

firmness and a steady fire, the enemy were soon driven back with great loss to the position they occupied when Lee first advanced upon them in the morning." For this movement General Greene received warm praise—a striking instance of the instability of fortune; for he did precisely what Lee had done in the morning, upon certainly not stronger grounds; and whilst he met with commendation, Lee was ruined.

To enable an officer to distinguish himself above his fellows, where all do their duty, not only bravery and skill, but also opportunity are requisite. In the battle of Monmouth, the last was unfortunately denied to General Muhlenberg. His brigade formed a part of the main line, and although his brave Virginians fought with their usual steadiness and gallantry, and although he himself displayed the same skill and impetuous ardour which so highly distinguished him at Brandywine and Germantown, yet the actions of this particular body of troops were lost in those of the mass. That they did their whole duty, and nobly sustained the reputation won in the campaign of 1777, all accounts agree, but more cannot be claimed. Had the fortune of the day been with them, doubtless

the troops who saved the army at Brandywine would have equalled their former deeds at Monmouth. Still their conduct was such as to win them the praise of their opponents; for an English account,<sup>64</sup> (after detailing the rout of Lee's command,) in speaking of that portion of the army with which was Muhlenberg's brigade, says: "Their second line preserved a better countenance, and resisted a fierce and eager attack with great obstinacy." The account then goes on to state, that after being routed "they evinced a degree of recollection as well as resolution rarely found in taking up a third position, which they maintained." This is incorrect, for they never receded from the position in which they repulsed the enemy's repeated attacks.

The engagement continued until night separated the combatants, and thus ended the hardfought and perhaps unnecessary battle of Monmouth. The enemy suffered more heavily than did the Americans, and at night withdrew from the field, having accomplished the design of protecting their train. The Americans gained the ground and the ground alone, although in another point of view, the result of the action was useful. It taught the

Continental troops the value of the discipline they had learned at Valley Forge, and as the victory was claimed with some appearance of plausibility, it served to strengthen the hopes and courage of the people at large.

With the unfortunate dispute between General Lee and the Commander-in-chief this sketch has no connexion, although, perhaps, the writer may be allowed to express the opinion, that Lee was more culpable for his correspondence after, than for his conduct during the action. This dispute, however, by engrossing the attention of the army and the public, has rendered all accounts of the action meagre and unsatisfactory.

The victory at Monmouth drew from Congress resolutions thanking warmly the Commander and troops, and the former, in general orders, commended in the highest terms the good behaviour of both officers and men.

Sir Henry Clinton, after remaining some days in the vicinity of Middletown, proceeded to Sandy Hook, and his army embarked for New York the day before the arrival of the French fleet, an event which would have cut off their retreat, and perhaps eventuated in their entire destruction.

The American forces in the mean time proceeded to Brunswick, and from thence to Paramus, at which latter place a halt of a few days was made to recruit the troops. From thence they marched to the North River, the main body of the army halting at the White Plains.

The force now concentrated at this place was the largest body of regular troops ever assembled under the American banner. It was reported at nearly seventeen thousand rank and file fit for duty; and consequently a new arrangement of brigades became necessary.<sup>65</sup> That commanded by General Muhlenberg was composed of the regiments of Colonels Parker, Daviess, George Gibson, and Smith, and this arrangement was not changed whilst its commander remained in the North.

The army maintained its position at the White Plains for several months, during which time nothing material occurred; the unanimous opinion of a council of war having been against any attack on New York Island. General Muhlenberg was, however, assigned the command of a picked body of troops,<sup>66</sup> a part of which were Morgan's riflemen, and thrown forward in the direction of King's

Bridge to cover the country and the camp. He several times advanced on the high grounds west of the Bronx River to the bridge itself, offering battle to the enemy's forces at that point, but they remained close within their entrenchments. The service was one of great danger, requiring unceasing vigilance and activity, but it was honourably and skilfully performed.

Sir Henry Clinton despairing of effecting anything in the North, had determined upon a southern expedition, and the large preparations made for this object induced the belief that New York was to be evacuated, whilst the recent movement towards Rhode Island convinced the public mind that an eastern expedition was intended. This was not Washington's own opinion, although to be prepared, he removed his head-quarters to Fredericksburg, near the Connecticut line, and ordered the Virginia brigades, with some other portions of the army, to West Point.

The state of public belief, however, rendered it necessary that the question of a march to the Eastern States should be discussed, and the opinions of the general officers were desired. That of General Muhlenberg<sup>67</sup> is too long for insertion;



but the results arrived at show the correctness of his military judgment, and were borne out by the opinion of the Commander-in-chief, and the future conduct of the enemy. The following extract occurs in it:

“The uncertainty of the enemy’s real intention in transporting a part of their army from York to Rhode Island, renders it almost impossible in our present situation to judge with propriety in what manner their designs may or ought to be counteracted.

“The object of their expedition must be either to reinforce the garrison, or bring them off, or perhaps they intend to try their fortune on the main, in the neighbourhood of Rhode Island, with the best part of their army. Either of these objects may be their aim; but until it can be determined with some degree of certainty which of these they have in view, a movement of this army to the eastward might prove very prejudicial, especially if their object is either of the two first mentioned; for they would have time enough to take off the garrison, or compel General Sullivan to quit the Island, before we could possibly come to his assistance. As they have so great an advantage over

us in transporting their troops by water, they might possibly find an opportunity to bring their whole force to act against this or any other state on the south side of the North River, and cut off our communication with the Southern States, before we could be in a condition to prevent it. Should they accomplish this, besides other ruinous consequences, the army would be distressed for provisions.

“From this I conceive that nothing could justify the march to the eastward at this time, except the army with General Sullivan was so entangled, that without the assistance of this army, they must fall into the hands of the enemy. Relative to an expedition against York Island, as I did not understand that your Excellency meant to make a serious impression, I can see no desirable object, except it is to make a diversion in favour of General Sullivan; but if he has left Rhode Island, that object vanishes of course. The enemy’s works on this side of King’s Bridge may probably be wrested from them by a coup-de-main, but even then the enemy would have the advantage. They would defend the works as long as they thought it advisable, and then retreat over the bridge, which we

could not prevent, so that we should only gain a post, with the loss of a number of men, which we would not care to occupy.

“ Upon the whole, I conceive, the post which the army at present occupies, is best calculated for a general plan of defence. We cover the communications between the Eastern and Southern States, awe the enemy in New York and its dependencies, and can be ready at the shortest notice to march to the assistance of any state east or south, as the operations of the enemy shall make it necessary.”

The same remarks will apply to General Muhlenberg's opinion on the subject of the selection of winter quarters,<sup>68</sup> which was given at New York under date of 16th October. In opposition to the general opinion that the army should be kept together, he recommended that the main body should be quartered at Fishkill, with three or four brigades advanced three days' march on the Boston Road, to be in readiness to act in conjunction with General Sullivan and the French fleet. Some brigades in the Jerseys to cover that state and the Highland posts, at the principal of which, West Point, a strong garrison should be posted, while the cavalry were sent into Jersey and Connecticut. “ In this

position," he says, "I presume we might be able to frustrate any designs the enemy might have upon either the fleet or the Highland posts, and at the same time be in the best possible situation to provide for the army; but as it will be impossible to provide houses for all the troops at the different posts, and as it would be unadvisable to canton them about in the country, no time should be lost in providing materials for raising temporary barracks. Your Excellency will remember that last winter many inconveniences might have been prevented, and our quarters rendered much more comfortable, if we could have begun upon them before the severity of the winter came on." This was almost precisely the arrangement afterwards adopted by the Commander-in-chief with the utmost success for the purposes intended.

The course of our narrative now leads us to a matter of more private importance to its subject than that immediately preceding. General Muhlenberg was by no means a wealthy man, and his continuance in the army was at a great pecuniary sacrifice to himself. Since his first entry into the service, he had been so continually engaged in active service that his private affairs had been

entirely neglected. Under these circumstances he addressed the following letter to the Commander-in-chief.

“West Point, Oct. 22d, 1778.

“SIR,

“As the present campaign seems nearly at an end, I must request your Excellency’s permission to go to Virginia as soon as the troops go into winter quarters, in order to settle my affairs there.

“I went to Virginia last winter for that purpose; but having received some intimation, on my way, at Yorktown, how the dispute between General Woodford and myself was like to be settled, I had no intention to continue in the service on those terms, but thought to return to Virginia immediately, and should have done so if your Excellency had not thought it necessary for me to stay at that time, as no other general officer of the Virginia line was present.

“I left my household furniture, stock, &c., in the glebe at Dunmore, which I rented for one year, from the 10th of January last, under the care of an overseer, who, I am informed, is gone on the Indian expedition, and the vestry likewise notify me that

they wish my effects removed to make room for a minister. As the enemy have nearly broke me up in Philadelphia, I wish to save the little I have left in Virginia, as I could not in justice to my family continue in the service, unless I knew them in some sort provided for. I do not, however, mean to ask permission to go, so long as your Excellency shall think my services wanted.

“ I have the honour to be

“ Your Excellency’s

“ Most obedient, humble servant,

“ P. MUHLENBERG.”

To this he received the following reply, which prevented his leaving camp at this time. He cheerfully acquiesced in the decision of the Commander-in-chief, although in so doing he again sacrificed his private interests to the public good.

“ Head-quarters, Fredericksburg, 28th Oct., 1778.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ \* \* \* In answer to yours of the 22d, I can only say that it is my wish to accommodate every gentleman’s situation in the army to his private affairs, as far as I can do it consistently with that

duty which I owe to the public, and to the trust which is reposed in me. General Woodford is already gone to Virginia, and by what I can learn, General Scott will be obliged from some late domestic calamities either to go home for a time or resign, and if you go before a general officer returns to superintend the troops of the state, they will be left as they were last winter without a head, and will dwindle to nothing.

“From the tenor of your letter I am pleased to find that you are determined to wait until the service will admit of your absence with convenience, and you may be assured that whenever that is the case, I shall give my consent to your visiting your family and friends.

“I am, dear sir,

“Your most obedient servant,

“G. WASHINGTON.”

Whilst on the North River, General Muhlenberg was attached to the division commanded by General Putnam, composed of his own and Woodford's brigades. In the early part of November, General Gates, who commanded at Hartford, was ordered to Boston, which made it necessary to send forward

General Putnam to the former place. The command of the division was therefore, on the 2d of November, assigned by the Commander-in-chief to General Muhlenberg, and in this responsible situation he continued during the whole winter.

The "Military Journal" of Dr. Thatcher, who, for a time held the post of surgeon to the first Virginia regiment, Colonel George Gibson, gives us much insight into the private life of the officers of the Revolutionary army at this time; and in good truth, they seem to have enjoyed themselves as much as their circumstances and privations would admit. The following extract<sup>69</sup> will, perhaps, be of some interest to the reader.

"Nov. 3d, 1778. Robinson's House, West Point. Having made a visit to Fishkill, I returned in company with Dr. Treat, our physician-general, and found a large number of gentlemen collected to partake of an entertainment, by invitation of Brigadier-General Muhlenberg, who occupies a room in our hospital. The guests consisted of forty-one respectable officers, and our tables were furnished with fourteen different dishes, arranged in fashionable style. After dinner, Major-General Putnam was requested to preside, and he displayed no less



urbanity at the head of the table, than bravery at the head of his division. A number of toasts were pronounced, accompanied by humorous and merry songs. In the evening we were cheered with military music and dancing, which continued until a late hour in the night.

“General Muhlenberg was the minister of a parish in Virginia, but participating in the spirit of the times, he exchanged the clerical profession for that of a soldier. Having in his pulpit inculcated the principles of liberty and the cause of his country, he found no difficulty in enlisting a regiment, and was appointed their commander. He entered the pulpit with his sword and cockade, preached his farewell sermon, and the next day marched at the head of his regiment to join the army; and he does honour to the military profession.”

This dinner was most probably given to General Putnam, on the occasion of his successor taking command.

The army now prepared to go into winter quarters. The disposition of the troops was as follows. Three brigades were posted at Danbury in Connecticut; two near Fishkill; one at West Point, Smith's Clove, and Elizabethtown, each; and the

remaining seven at Middlebrook, with the artillery near the latter place. The division commanded by General Muhlenberg was ordered to head-quarters at Middlebrook, and commenced its march from West Point on the 28th of November. When it arrived at the Scotch Plains, however, its progress was suddenly arrested. An express arrived ordering General Muhlenberg to halt wherever the order found him, disencumber himself of all heavy baggage, and return forthwith to the North River. This order was caused by a formidable movement of the enemy up that stream, to attack West Point, as was supposed. The division accomplished its march very rapidly, but the enemy returned again to New York. The Virginians retraced their steps, and finally arrived at Middlebrook, where they erected huts for their accommodation, and remained during the whole winter.

Despite their uncomfortable situation here, the camp seems to have been full of gaiety. Dr. Thatcher makes frequent mention of balls and dinner parties; and General Muhlenberg, whose natural disposition was extremely gay and sociable, appears to have been a prominent actor in all the amusements of the winter. On the New Year he

gave a grand ball, which the Doctor thus describes:<sup>70</sup> "Jan. 1, 1779. Colonel Gibson made an entertainment, and invited all the officers of his regiment to dine at his quarters in the country, a short distance from camp. The table was amply furnished, and the guests did not separate till evening, when we were requested to resort to General Muhlenberg's quarters. Here we were introduced to a number of ladies assembled to unite with the gentlemen in the ball-room. A very elegant supper was provided, and not one of the company were permitted to retire until three o'clock in the morning. Thus have the gallant Virginians commenced the new year."

The army remained in quarters at Middlebrook until the 2d of June; but during this time, beyond the usual duties of a camp, nothing occurred of sufficient interest to render it worthy of commemoration.

In the mean time, General Washington had been in consultation with Congress, and the result of their deliberations made the plan for the ensuing campaign entirely defensive in its character. Very little being attempted, the year '79 furnishes but scanty materials for this sketch.

The long inactivity of the winter had as usual

diminished the rank and file of the army; and in May its reorganization became essential. Several of the regiments had been so much weakened that it was necessary to unite them to make the brigades at all efficient. In Muhlenberg's, the first and tenth were so united, and Colonel Gist's regiment added; so that the brigade now consisted of these corps, the sixth, and first and second state regiments, all Virginians.

Sir Henry Clinton in the mean time, after the return of his detached parties from the south and east, moved up the North River in great force, intending to take the posts of Stony Point and Verplanck's Point, and if possible attempt the Highland forts themselves. This caused the concentration of the American army: the encampment at Middlebrook was suddenly broken up, and on the 2d of June the troops commenced their advance by forced marches. General Muhlenberg's brigade formed a part of the advance division; and the whole right wing, under command of General Putnam, was united at Smith's Clove. The position of the American army was now so easily defended, that Sir Henry Clinton relinquished the latter part of his project, leaving adequate garrisons in the two cap-

tured posts of Stony Point and Verplanck's Point. Dr. Thatcher says that the American position was deemed so strong, that the wish for an attack from the enemy was generally expressed by the officers.

The various marauding parties of the enemy, who had ravaged the coast with fire and sword, had excited the indignation of the people in the highest degree, and the reproaches at the inactivity of the army were universal. The Commander-in-chief thus found it necessary to depart from his defensive plan for the moment, to strike some brilliant blow, which should at once awe the enemy and appease the general discontent. The object selected was Stony Point: the officers detailed for this delicate duty were Generals Wayne and Muhlenberg; the former with a picked body of men to make the attack, and the latter with his brigade to cover and support the former. The following is an extract from the letter of the Commander-in-chief upon the occasion:—"This day, General Wayne marched down towards Stony Point, to take a view of the enemy, and if occasion offered, to attempt something serious. I therefore wish you to put your brigade in motion about midnight, and march

that way, in order to act as his situation may make it necessary. You will make your movements as secret as possible, and march perfectly light, taking such of your guards as may be in your route with you. You shall hear from me when to return, unless the enterprise should prove unsuccessful, in which case you will return to your present post." But it did not fail. It was carried out as gallantly as it was skilfully planned, and General Wayne richly deserved the honours heaped upon him for the exploit. It was not General Muhlenberg's good fortune to be engaged in the assault itself, the duty assigned him being of a different nature, far less brilliant, but equally necessary. Wayne in his report said:—"Previous to my marching, I had drawn General Muhlenberg into my rear, who with three hundred men of his brigade took post on the opposite side of the marsh, and was to be in readiness either to support me, or cover a retreat in case of accident; and I have not the least doubt of his faithfully and effectually executing either, had there been an occasion for it." The glory of the assault was entirely with General Wayne; but still it was no mean compliment to the military character of any officer, to be selected by the Commander-in-

chief out of the whole army as second in command of such an expedition.

During the whole of this year, General Muhlenberg was almost constantly engaged in what was termed "the arrangement of the Virginia line."<sup>1</sup> In the first instance, commissions had been very loosely issued, in a manner at variance with all the general rules on the subject of promotions. This evil had gone on increasing until it had reached its height; the whole line was thrown into confusion, and disputes as to rank were constantly arising. To ascertain and place each officer in the rank he should have held, was the object of this arrangement; and considering the number of disputes, the task was truly herculean. Upon General Muhlenberg fell the principal portion of the labour, and his correspondence upon the subject with the Commander-in-chief covers many pages. In the fall of this year, however, he had the satisfaction of seeing it finally arranged, giving general satisfaction; and in September the new commissions, dated in accordance with its recommendations, were issued.

He was also, in conjunction with Generals Greene, Sterling, St. Clair, De Kalb, Knox, and Woodford,

appointed upon a Board, the object of which was to arrange the Maryland line, and settle the disputes which a similar looseness in granting commissions had originated there.

In the early part of December the campaign closed, and the main army, with which was Muhlenberg's brigade, went into winter quarters at Morristown.

The southern expedition of the enemy, heretofore alluded to, had been detained thus long at New York by a concurrence of adverse circumstances, but in this month it sailed for the southward. This, added to other indications, showed that the main seat of the war was hereafter to be transferred to the South; and on the 14th, the whole Virginia line was ordered to that portion of the continent. General Muhlenberg was directed to take command of, and accompany these troops to the South, an order which would have ended his career by consigning him to a British prison-ship, for the whole Virginia line were afterwards made prisoners at the capitulation of Charleston, Generals Woodford and Scott being among the captives. His destination was, however, changed by a subsequent order, which directed him to proceed to Virginia and assume



the chief command of that state. He left camp immediately for Philadelphia, but did not commence his journey south until the following February.

A new and different career now awaited him. To trace his conduct therein will be the object of the next chapter.

## CHAPTER VI.

Condition of Virginia—Weakness of the South—Importance of the Duties assigned Him—Support of the Southern Army—Defence of the State—His Journey—Deficiency of Munitions of War—Small Number of Troops—Conscription Law proposed—Letter from General Washington—His Reply—Captivity of the Virginia Line—Great Exertions necessary—Reorganization of the Virginia Line—General Washington's Letter—Arrival and Departure of General Gates—Condition of Troops in Virginia—Sends Reinforcements to General Gates—Difficulty of equipping them—General Leslie invades Virginia—General Muhlenberg marches against the Enemy—His strength—Letter to General Gates—His Army reinforced to Five Thousand Men—Deficiency in Artillery—Project of capturing the Enemy by Aid of the French Fleet—The British re-embark—Volunteers and Militia discharged—General Order—Letter to the Board of War.

GENERAL MUHLENBERG had thus far, whilst acting with the main army, won for himself the reputation of a gallant and skilful officer. He had, however, during the whole of this time acted in a subordinate capacity; and although to his own exertions the

high state of discipline in his brigade was to be attributed, yet nevertheless he had enjoyed the good fortune of commanding the choice troops of the army. With such means in his hands, it is not wonderful that he achieved great results, and gained high distinction on the bloody days of Brandywine and Germantown. For the future all this was to be changed. Holding a separate command, in which important duties devolved upon him, he was obliged to rely entirely upon himself. The shattered remnant of the Virginia line, having marched under General Woodford to the aid of General Lincoln, were captured when Charleston fell, and he therefore entered upon his new command without a single regiment, and almost destitute of the necessary munitions of war. In this condition of things he was obliged, out of the resources of his command, first to raise, equip, and discipline an army for the defence of a state, upon which an attack might be daily expected. The success with which he performed his part of this herculean labour is evidenced by the numerous body of troops who afterwards, under the command of Lafayette, joined the Commander-in-chief before the entrenchments of Yorktown.

The reasons which induced the enemy to transfer the war to the southward are most apparent. In the North they had constantly met with either defeat, or so determined a resistance, as to render their victories barren. The South, on the contrary, whilst the richest was at the same time the weakest part of the confederacy, large districts teeming with the rankest disaffection to the cause of the Continent. These reasons, together with the despair of accomplishing anything in the North, had the year previous induced Sir Henry Clinton to despatch several expeditions to that quarter of the Confederation. The result of their operations at Charleston and Savannah, and especially the expedition of General Matthews, who with a command of two thousand men had made a descent upon Virginia, ravaging, burning, and plundering the whole seaboard without opposition, convinced the British ministry that much was to be hoped from active operations on a large scale in the Southern States. Against Virginia their hostility was particularly directed; for, in the language of Colonel Lee,<sup>7a</sup> "They viewed the destruction of the resources of the commonwealth of Virginia, as cutting up by the roots all resistance in the

South." Such in truth it was. The Carolinas and Georgia were overrun with Tories, and in their distracted and divided state, nothing was to be hoped from their own resources. In Virginia alone could the troops and stores necessary to save the South be raised; and if the enemy deemed "the breaking up of Virginia a primary object,"<sup>73</sup> as they did, its safety and preservation were held to be of equal importance by the Commander-in-chief and Congress.

This important command was assigned to General Muhlenberg. At the close of the campaign of 1779, he had received a furlough for the purpose of visiting his family, which causes heretofore detailed had prevented him from doing since his return from Carolina. Whilst in Philadelphia, on his way to Virginia, however, his journey was arrested by the Board of War, who ordered him to Richmond. His principal duties were briefly these: to superintend the collection of troops, provisions, and munitions of war for the southern armies, in such a manner as to keep them constantly effective, and if any hostile attempt should be made on Virginia, to assume the command of all forces necessary for its defence. The first of

these, although not attended by any brilliant military display, was one of the most important duties which could be assigned to any officer. Virginia was the great storehouse of the South, but her resources, unless properly managed by military experience and sound judgment, and directed steadily to one great object, would have been frittered away in disconnected and ill-digested efforts. The constant intercourse necessary between the general and the civil officers of the state, rendered the task one of great delicacy, the more especially as in that day the powers of neither were very distinctly defined, and consequently much jealousy of the military force existed. This cause rendered Steuben's command, who in the year following succeeded General Muhlenberg, a scene of constant strife ;<sup>74</sup> and even General Greene was several times seriously embroiled with the authorities of Carolina. But still the task was most necessary. Charleston was invested, and shortly afterwards fell, leaving the whole South without a force anywhere to arrest the enemy's progress. The advance of the new southern army under General Gates was already resolved upon ; but without the aid of large bodies of troops and supplies from Virginia, it would have

been unable to take the field. To organize and prepare all these means was a task of no trifling difficulty.

But whilst doing all this, the defence of the state was to be cared for most vigilantly. Neither Congress nor the Commander-in-chief supposed, that the enemy having the command at sea, would see this constant stream of men and supplies coming to our southern army, without making a serious attempt to cut it off at its source. The geographical position of Virginia, penetrated in all directions by large bays and navigable streams, rendered its attack peculiarly easy. Its defence therefore required an officer of great military skill; and General Muhlenberg was even required first to raise the troops with which to defend his command, for the Commander-in-chief could not spare him even a single regiment of regulars. His selection for this duty may therefore be considered a high compliment, not only from Congress but from General Washington.

The necessary preparations to be made detained him in Philadelphia until the 24th of February, when he wrote to General Washington that on the day following he should start for Virginia, and be happy to receive his orders at Fredericksburg or

Williamsburg. The uncommon severity of the season,<sup>75</sup> however, frustrated the various attempts he made to commence his journey, and it was not until the 10th of March that he was fairly on the road. He was accompanied by his Brigade-Major Mitchell, and others of his military family; and in the early part of April arrived at Richmond, the journey having occupied nearly a month. Its severity may be judged of by the fact, that the General lost three horses, one of which, he writes, cost him twenty thousand dollars!

Having reached his point of destination, he immediately commenced making the necessary preparations for performing the duties assigned him. Throughout the state everything was in the utmost confusion. They were destitute of arms and the munitions of war; their recruiting system had fallen into such disrepute, that the Legislature was debating the necessity of a conscription law; their whole line, with the exception of a single regiment stationed at Fort Pitt, was shut up in Charleston, with scarcely a possibility of escape from the hands of the enemy; and in addition to all this, the depreciation of the currency was such that the Continental treasury was bankrupt, and



that of the state in a condition not much better. Under these gloomy circumstances the Old Dominion was required to furnish the means of reconquering the Southern States and at the same time to defend herself from an invasion which might be expected at any moment. It was one of the darkest periods of the Revolution.

But the destinies of Virginia at this time were most fortunately committed to the hands of statesmen who were capable of rising above even such emergencies. Thomas Jefferson, who had resigned his place in Congress, was seated in the gubernatorial chair, and acting with his usual energy and decision, he placed the whole resources of the state at the disposal of the military commandant, aiding him by every means in his power. This happy agreement between the military and civil power, caused many difficulties to disappear which otherwise might have proved highly detrimental to the common cause. Perhaps the fact of General Muhlenberg being a Virginian, and in the captivity of General Woodford the commanding officer of all the troops of that state, contributed somewhat to this result; for certain it is that difficulties of this

kind were among the greatest troubles of Baron Steuben, his successor in the command.

General Muhlenberg's first object was to ascertain precisely the present condition of affairs connected with his new duties. For this purpose he proceeded from Williamsburg to Richmond, at which latter place he met Governor Jefferson, who furnished him with the desired information. From this letter it appeared that voluntary enlistments were the only means of filling the ranks of the Virginia line then authorized by law, and that the only corps then in the state were the first and second state regiments and Colonel Harrison's artillery. The latter had been "considerably recruited," but the men of the two former were absent on furlough, there being no money in the treasury to pay or re-enlist them. There were some few draughted soldiers in different parts of the country, but in the language of the letter, "they are so few, so dispersed, and enlisted for so short a time, that we have not thought them worth the expense of gathering up." This was all the military material then existing in the state of Virginia, although it is true, that as Charleston had not yet

fallen, the necessity for exertion was not so great as it subsequently became. Even this force was then under orders from the Board of War to proceed to the southward by companies, as rapidly as collected.

The plan of relying entirely upon voluntary enlistments General Muhlenberg soon discovered would prove ineffectual. In a letter to the Board of War, dated Fredericksburg, April 15th, 1780, he writes that "the numbers collected are small, and the officer appointed by the government of the state to collect them will, I am apt to believe, meet with little success. Several gentlemen of consequence inform me that if it should appear that recruits cannot be raised by voluntary enlistment, a draft will be proposed by the next Assembly, who meet in May." This is the first shadowing forth of the conscription law afterwards enacted, a measure which was most warmly urged by General Muhlenberg, whose influence was highly instrumental in procuring its passage. Without it the state would have remained entirely defenceless, and must have fallen at the first blow.

The following letter from General Washington and its reply will show how utterly disorganized

every branch of the service in Virginia was, but at the same time they exhibit a considerable improvement in the prospects for the future. The work, however, was evidently commenced at the beginning.

“Head-quarters, Morristown, April 20th, 1780.

“DEAR SIR,

“I duly received your letter of the 24th of February from Philadelphia, when you were on the point of leaving it, with the copy of instructions from the Board of War to which you refer. The business which they have mentioned to employ your attention is very interesting, and in this view I persuade myself that every reasonable exertion will be used, as far as it may depend on you to promote it. I do not know what measures the state is pursuing to place their line on a more respectable footing than it is at present; however I suppose, in consequence of the late requisition of Congress, and the necessity of the case, they are doing something.

“In fixing on places of rendezvous for the recruits and drafts, regard should be had to their probable future destination and their health. The destination from present appearances will be to the southward,

and therefore the more conveniently they can rendezvous to the communications leading that way, the better. But Petersburg, from its usual unhealthiness, should not by any means be appointed for them to assemble at. It has already proved the grave of too many. \* \* \*

“As the recruits and drafts come in, you will have them formed into companies immediately, and proper attention paid to their discipline, and whenever they amount to fifty strong they are to march to join the troops of the state at the southward. This is to be the case from time to time as often as they make this number, unless orders are received to the contrary, and whenever the detachments amount to one hundred and fifty, a field officer should proceed. That I may know how to direct matters with the more propriety, you will not fail to inform me of the places of rendezvous you appoint, and transmit me by every fortnight's post a particular statement of the recruits or drafts that assemble. Your attention will be extended to having the old soldiers collected who were furloughed, and who have not joined their regiments.

“I have been informed that there are many deserters in the state, and that possibly a good many

of them would come in if they were not afraid of being punished. You shall hear from me on this subject by the first post after I know the places you appoint for the rendezvous of recruits, &c., which you cannot be too early in communicating.

“The officers in the state will in all probability want their pay. I really do not know, in the present deranged situation of our treasury, and from their remoteness, how they will get it.

“Perhaps by transmitting an abstract of their names and rank, and the regiments to which they belong, to the Honourable the Board of War, with whom, by their instructions, you are to correspond, it may be in their power to have the matter put in such a train that it may be obtained.

“I am, dear sir, &c.,

“G. WASHINGTON.”

“Fredericksburg, May 8th, 1780.

“SIR,

“I was honoured with your Excellency’s favour of the 20th April, by the last post, and have carried the orders into execution as far as possible.

“I am sorry it is not in my power to give your Excellency a more favourable account of the situa-

tion of affairs here, relative to the recruits and drafts. On my arrival in Virginia I found the Governor was absent from Williamsburg, on a visit to Albemarle, but was expected in a short time either at Williamsburg or Richmond. I waited on him at the last place in the beginning of April, produced my instructions from the Board of War, and agreeably to those instructions, requested his advice, which I received in writing. Finding that little could be expected from the drafts, and that there was no money in the treasury to carry on the recruiting business properly, I wrote to the Honourable the Board of War, at Philadelphia, enclosed a copy of the Governor's letter, and requested further instructions, but have not yet received an answer.

“ On the 20th of April, I wrote to the Governor, proposing Rocky Ridge, a town opposite Richmond, for the place of general rendezvous, and Winchester and Fredericksburg as posts for the recruits to collect in small numbers. I further proposed, as there was a favourable prospect of recruiting, (one officer having enlisted near thirty in this town in a short time,) that I should call in all the officers of the Virginia line on Continental establishment, who were at present off duty, appoint

their districts, and send them out to recruit and collect the deserters, provided the treasury could furnish the money. I received the Governor's answer on the 1st of May, approving my proposals as far as related to the recruiting business, but objecting to having Rocky Ridge appointed for the general rendezvous, it being unhealthy, and too near the seat of government, and proposed Chesterfield as a healthy and convenient situation. This place I have accordingly appointed for the general rendezvous, and have now by advertisement ordered the officers to assemble at this place immediately to receive money and recruiting instructions, and I flatter myself they will have more success than was at first anticipated.

“Before the receipt of your Excellency's letter, I had already written to the State Board of War, requesting the removal of the sick from Petersburg to Rocky Ridge, or some other convenient and healthy place.       \*       \*       \*

“As soon as the officers are assembled, I shall send a return of what pay is due them to the Board of War, unless your Excellency should think it more convenient for them to draw their pay in the state, as the Governor has been pleased to promise



his assistance, if necessary. In his last letter he writes:—‘As to the pay of the officers left in this state, the poverty of the Continental treasury shall not prevent their receiving it, if you will procure authority for them to apply to the general paymaster, or any other single person, whose receipt shall be so authenticative as to vouch our paying him moneys for that purpose, and charging them to the Continent.’

“The last authentic accounts we have from Charleston, are of the 17th of April, when everything was safe. The town was summoned on the 10th. Both the summons and answer are in town, but I could not procure them, else should have transmitted them to your Excellency. \* \* \*

“I have the honour to be, &c.,

“P. MUHLENBERG.”

Bad as these letters represent the state of things, there is still an evident improvement from General Muhlenberg's former accounts. The recruiting officers had been able to make some progress; and as the state treasury had now available funds, which the Governor was willing should be advanced to the empty military chest, preparations for enlist-

ment were made on a much larger scale. The pay of the officers, too, was secured, although from the conclusion of General Washington's letter, their prospect of getting it at that time was extremely dubious, to say the least.

But the political horizon was soon overshadowed by darker clouds than before. On the 12th of May Charleston capitulated, and the entire southern army became prisoners of war. Upon Virginia the blow was especially severe, for the whole of the Virginia line, with the exception of such officers as were absent from their regiments, shared the same fate. Thus this fine body of veterans, whom it had taken years to form, were now rendered useless, and the small command of General Muhlenberg was the only organized Continental force in the Southern States.

Great exertions now became necessary. General Gates was appointed the new commander of the southern department, and was advancing with a considerable body of Continentals, principally composed of the Maryland and Delaware lines. This army, however, was to be supplied from Virginia, and joined by the militia of that state. The supplies absolutely necessary were yet to be procured ;

and General Muhlenberg's correspondence with the Commander-in-chief and Congress is filled with representations of his wants, which were sometimes complied with; but generally he was forced to make the best of the resources in his power. In one letter he states that a considerable portion of the troops at Chesterfield were unable to appear on parade, on account of their naked state.<sup>76</sup>

Another great work was now rendered necessary by the captivity of the Virginia troops. That line was to be reformed, and its ranks refilled, or in other words, a new army was to be raised, officered, disciplined, and equipped. It was the doing over the same thing which had been done at the commencement of the Revolution, but under very different circumstances. Then the regiments were filled easily, but now the length of the war and experience of the privations of a soldier's life, rendered men very unwilling to step forward, even in such a crisis.

The immediate superintendence of raising the new Virginia regiments naturally fell to General Muhlenberg, he being now their commanding officer. He immediately pressed upon the Legislature the passage of a bill raising five thousand new levies

by conscription, and giving the Commander-in-chief accurate returns of the officers and men of the old regiments then in the state, suggested a plan which, with some modifications, was afterwards adopted. The correspondence between General Washington and himself upon this subject is quite lengthy, but would prove uninteresting to the reader, as it is principally filled with details of the plan, and accounts of the difficulties to be overcome. The Commander-in-chief, however, took great interest in General Muhlenberg's success, evidently considering it of the last importance that these troops should be raised and rendered effective as rapidly as possible. The following extract from a letter to General Muhlenberg, dated July 18, 1780, shows the manner in which he wrote of it:

“I have now only to entreat that you will use every possible exertion to collect and form the drafts, and have them disciplined. I entreat this,—I expect it of all the officers. They will remember that the forming of a new army, or at least of a whole state line, and fitting it for the field, devolves in a great measure upon them; and as it shall act, so in a great degree will be their reputation. They

have a glorious opportunity to signalize themselves, and I doubt not they will avail themselves of the occasion. The crisis is a most interesting one; and on your and their exertions, and the discipline and bravery of the troops, great and early events may much depend. You will let me hear from you by every week's post, how matters go on, and will transmit me the number of drafts collected from time to time, and of the old soldiers, if any.

“I am, dear sir, &c.”

The bill, after some considerable delay, finally passed, but the number of levies was reduced to three thousand. The plan of reorganization<sup>77</sup> was briefly this. The following colonels, Febiger of the second, Greene of the sixth, Morgan of the seventh, Wood of the eighth, Gist of the ninth, Daviess of the tenth, and Buford of the eleventh, were not prisoners. The remaining officers were divided among these corps, and each was to receive an equal portion of the drafts, which with the old soldiers already collected at Chesterfield, would make each<sup>r</sup> regiment five hundred strong. The regiments were to be completed in the order of their numbers, and as soon as filled were to be pre-

pared to take the field with the utmost rapidity. The bill passed on the 1st of August; and so prompt and energetic were the measures of General Muhlenberg, that on the first of the next month, several of the regiments were filled and in a tolerable state of discipline. His difficulties, arising from the want of stores, had been somewhat diminished, although still sufficiently great. Finding that his written representations to Congress produced no effect, he despatched Colonel Febiger to Philadelphia, who by personal solicitation procured a moderate supply of arms, clothing, &c., for his General.

In the early part of July, General Gates arrived at Fredericksburg, and after a short delay, proceeded to join the southern army, then at Hillsboro, N. C. As commander of the southern department, General Muhlenberg for the future reported to him as well as to the Commander-in-chief, although, as the destination of General Gates was South Carolina, he still retained his separate command in Virginia. The same thing occurred in the following year, when Lafayette, then commanding that state, reported to General Greene as the successor of General Gates.

About this time much alarm was occasioned by

the appearance of a British fleet off the coast ; but the formidable approach of the conqueror of Saratoga obliged the enemy to concentrate their force to oppose him. Virginia was therefore spared for the present, and its commandant permitted to devote his whole energies to the reorganization of the state line, and to the collection and forwarding of men and supplies to General Gates, who on his departure had taken with him the greater part of the force before collected.

On the 21st of July, General Gates wrote from Hillsborough to General Muhlenberg, pressing him to send on immediate reinforcements of the regular troops then at his disposal. Without waiting for their arrival, he continued his march to the South, and at Camden the army from which the country expected so much, was almost entirely destroyed. This calamity made redoubled exertion necessary in Virginia.

The reply to General Gates's letter, dated August 19th, shows some of the almost insuperable difficulties under which General Muhlenberg laboured. It states that the orders were received on the 3d, and that since that time, the utmost exertions have

been used to equip three hundred and fifty men, under Colonel Buford, but that they are still without blankets and knapsacks, that no stores have yet arrived from the North, nor can he hear of any being on the way. In a letter to General Washington he uses the following language: "The whole of the old soldiers at Chesterfield (except the state regiments and some convalescents) are at present formed into five companies of sixty men each. They would have gone on before this time, but there is a total want of everything necessary to fit them for the field. There are neither teams, tents, nor blankets, and it is but a few days since we have been able to procure arms fit for service. The two state regiments, by an order of the Governor and Council, remain at Petersburg, where they are to be equipped for the field; they have continued there until they are reduced to forty-two men fit for duty!" The following letter sent with the detachment completes the picture. Some of the stores forwarded by Colonel Febiger had arrived; and it is a matter of amazement that without them the General had been enabled to hold the command together for such a length of time.



" Petersburg, Aug. 26th, 1780.

" DEAR GENERAL,

" The day before yesterday Colonel Senff and Major M'Gill arrived at Richmond, and brought an account of the disaster that had befallen the southern army. I wish it were in my power to give you some comfortable accounts from this quarter. I have, since the time I received your orders to send on the troops, used my utmost endeavours to equip them with only linen clothes and a pair of shoes per man, but have not been able to accomplish it until this day.

" To-morrow morning Colonel Buford will march from this place with three hundred and fifty men, for Hillsborough, well armed, and I hope I shall have it in my power to send in a party every week. Thirty-five hundred stand of arms, and one hundred and eighty boxes of musket cartridges, have arrived at Fredericksburg, with other military stores, and I have ordered all the wagons in that neighbourhood to be pressed, in order to bring them on. A wagon-load of entrenching tools will likewise set out from Richmond for Hillsborough this week.

" I am, dear General,

" With great respect, &c.

" P. MUHLENBERG."

General Muhlenberg continued forwarding troops to Hillsborough as rapidly as they could be equipped. The week following the march of Colonel Buford, another detachment of three hundred men, under Lieutenant-Colonel Webb, was despatched, and some weeks later an entire regiment proceeded in the same direction. By dint of great exertion three more regiments were ready to take the field by the middle of October, but their march was prevented by occurrences which will be hereafter detailed. The following extract from a letter to General Washington, dated August 24th, will give the reader some idea of the difficulties under which these troops were got ready for the field.

“The detachment at Chesterfield court-house, composed of old soldiers, recruits, and deserters, amounting to three hundred rank and file fit for duty, are at length in readiness to march, and will set out this week to join the southern army, agreeably to the orders I received from General Gates. It was with the utmost difficulty we could procure the most necessary articles to equip them for the field. They have no tents, but they are well armed, and most of them have blankets and knapsacks.

“The new levies are beginning to assemble from the counties nearest the rendezvous, but in what

manner they are to be equipped for the field is a mystery to me. I flattered myself from the promises I had received that the most necessary articles would be furnished by the state, but my hopes are cut short by the answer I received a few days ago from the Governor and Council to my requisition. They say 'the commissary of stores has attended the Board this morning, and informed them that he is not at present prepared to furnish any tents, blankets, or clothing, for the new levies, and whether he will be better enabled in time to come, depends entirely upon some lucky arrivals, a circumstance too precarious to reckon upon. This matter is mentioned to you, sir, that you may lose no time in making the application to the Board of War at Philadelphia, as was intimated in your letter.' "

General Washington's reply to the above did not convey much hope that the prospect for the future would be better. He says, "The late unfortunate stroke to the southward will render the exertions of the state, and of every individual, more than commonly necessary. I trust that nothing will be left undone on your part to collect the levies, arrange them, and procure arms and clothing for them.

The last two I fear will be attended with great difficulty, as a very small part of either, expected from France, have arrived in the Alliance frigate at Boston."

The following letter from General Gates shows how badly he bore and how quickly he rid himself of like troubles. General Muhlenberg had thus far collected all the newly raised troops at Chesterfield, where he kept them until they were in some sort equipped for the field. The Governor, however, in opposition to the General's advice, had ordered a part of the recruits to rendezvous at General Gates's head-quarters, which produced the following letter to General Muhlenberg.

" Hillsborough, Oct. 12th, 1780.

" DEAR GENERAL,

" More of the eighteen months' men from the adjacent counties in Virginia keep pouring upon me, with neither clothes, blankets, arms, nor accoutrements. Such a naked rabble only increase distress, and can be of no service; I have nothing to supply them with here. I desire you, or the state, will take some measures to prevent this evil for the future. If they could come clothed, even to Taylor's

Ferry, there are arms sufficient at that post to supply them, but not here. How does your business go forward, and when may I expect a reinforcement from you? I congratulate you on the great news I now send by this express to the Governor.

“I am, dear sir,

“Your affectionate, humble servant,

“HORATIO GATES.”

Thus far the state of Virginia had escaped the ravages of war, but the attack had been merely postponed, not abandoned. Lord Cornwallis, relieved from his difficulties by the victory at Camden, could sustain himself, and even despatch a fine body of troops under Colonel Ferguson in that direction; at the same time an expedition, about three thousand strong, was fitted out at New York, and under the command of General Leslie, sailed for Virginia. From this time henceforth this state was to be the scene of active hostilities, the enemy remaining quiet in the North, but devoting all their energies to “the primary object, the breaking up of Virginia.”

The enemy's fleet, consisting of about sixty sail, entered the mouth of James River on the 15th of

October, and immediately commenced disembarking its land forces in the vicinity of Portsmouth. The news of the invasion was carried by express to the Governor, who called General Muhlenberg to the command of the state forces,<sup>78</sup> assisted by Generals Weedon of the line, and Nelson and Stevens of the militia. The necessity of the case obliged the commanding General to use the troops he had collected for General Gates to ward off this new blow, and accordingly, the regiments then at Chesterfield became the nucleus of the new army. The enemy thus succeeded in accomplishing one of their objects, the cutting off of the stream of men and supplies which had been sustaining General Gates; but in the other, a junction with Colonel Ferguson or Lord Cornwallis, they were disappointed, by the defeat of the former officer at King's Mountain.

The want of arms proved a great drawback to the officers commanding the Virginia forces, but still their energy and promptness met with considerable success. Immediately upon the news of the invasion, General Muhlenberg marched from Chesterfield with the force he then had, to check the enemy's advance, leaving General Weedon at

Richmond to collect troops with which to reinforce him. During the time occupied in the march, the enemy, as usual, ravaged the shores of James River with fire and sword.

On the 25th, General Muhlenberg commenced his march with about eight hundred raw soldiers of the new Virginia line.<sup>79</sup> The following is an extract from the first general order issued:—"As the troops have now taken the field, and perhaps may soon be called into action, the General hopes and expects that the gentlemen officers will, for the sake of their own honour and the good of the service, make use of every opportunity that may offer, to perfect the men, as much as the shortness of the time will permit, in those manœuvres which are essentially necessary in the field, and to take particular pains to instruct the young soldiers how to perform their duty when on picket and other guard. Few orders, and such only as are absolutely necessary, will be issued on the march; but those, it is expected, will be obeyed with the utmost punctuality. Captain Drew and Mr. Ludeman are appointed aids to the General during the invasion, and are to be respected and obeyed as such."

The march was conducted with the utmost

rapidity, and on the 2d the troops arrived within a few miles of the enemy's pickets. The following letter<sup>80</sup> to General Gates, gives a brief account of General Muhlenberg's position, strength, and intentions.

"Isle of Wight, Nov. 7, 1780.

"DEAR GENERAL,—

"I expected the Governor would have given you a circumstantial account of the proceedings of the enemy in this state, and of the measures adopted to oppose them; but I understand from Captain Singleton, who has just arrived, that the intelligence you have procured from that quarter has been very deficient. I shall therefore do myself the honour of representing to you our present situation as concisely as possible.

"On the enemy's landing in this state, I marched with all the regulars we had embodied, consisting of eight hundred men, to oppose them, and prevent their ravaging the lower counties with impunity. It was near six days before I got near them, when they immediately retreated to Portsmouth, where they commenced entrenching themselves.

"They have likewise compelled Colonel Senff to



retreat from the Great Bridge, and have taken possession of that post; but Generals Gregory and Benbury are collecting a force sufficient to oppose them on that side. General Nelson is on the north side of James River, with about one thousand men, and will be reinforced in a few days with more. We have had fourteen deserters from the enemy since their arrival; and from their reports, as well as from other intelligence more to be depended on, I am convinced their force does not exceed twenty-five hundred men, and these are a motley crew, composed of drafts from different corps.

“The post I at present occupy is fifteen miles distant from the enemy’s outpost; and I only wait a reinforcement to move lower down. I have, since my stay at this place, been reinforced with six hundred militia. Eight hundred more will join me in a few days, and General Weedon is on his march to join me with a thousand men, besides a corps of volunteers commanded by Colonel Lawson, consisting of eight hundred infantry and one hundred horse; so that in a few days we shall have a respectable force.

“From every account I have been able to obtain, the enemy on their first arrival intended to pene-

trate the country, and form a junction with Lord Cornwallis; but hearing of Ferguson's fate, they waited for further orders; and now I believe it is too late to put that project in execution, as the inhabitants have turned out with spirit and alacrity.

“ With great respect,

“ Dear General, &c.,

“ P. MUHLENBERG.”

As soon as General Muhlenberg received the reinforcements alluded to, he advanced upon Portsmouth, and driving in the enemy's pickets, confined him closely to his entrenchments. The American force now amounted to about five thousand men, of whom one thousand were regulars. It was composed as follows:<sup>81</sup>—Lieutenant-Colonel Gas-kin's battalion, first state regiment, state garrison regiment, and Colonel Spottswood's regiment, formed the first brigade, commanded by General Weedon; and Lieutenant-Colonel Hawe's battalion, second state regiment, Colonel Munroe's regiment of volunteers, Colonel Parker's regiment, and Colonel Jones's detachment, composed the second brigade, under General Nelson. Colonel Harrison commanded the artillery, and Lieutenant-Colonel Camp-

bell the light infantry. Such a force as this would have been fully competent to capture or destroy the invaders; but here again the miserable deficiency of the Americans in arms prevented anything being accomplished. General Muhlenberg had no artillery save a few light field-pieces; and the enemy's entrenchments were too strong to be taken without a regular battering train. Beyond a few skirmishes, then, nothing occurred; although it is true the enemy were closely confined to their works, and the country perfectly protected.

In the mean time, the Governor had written to General Washington,<sup>82</sup> urging that a portion or the whole of the French fleet should enter James River. General Muhlenberg's force, he said, was sufficient to prevent their escape, and the enemy would find themselves in a net, if the French Admiral had leisure to close its mouth. But for some reason the project was not adopted; and the British retaining their naval superiority, on the 25th the troops were re-embarked, and returned to New York. Their expedition had miserably failed: instead of penetrating into the country, they were closely confined within their walls, and only saved from surrender by the presence of their fleet: this,

too, although when they landed General Muhlenberg had but eight hundred effective men. Thus ended the invasion of General Leslie, whose repulse, although little known, was under the circumstances most creditable to the American arms and commander.

Portsmouth evacuated, the American troops returned, the regulars to Cabin Point, and the militia and volunteers, who had been raised to serve during the invasion, to Petersburg, where by orders of the Governor they were discharged. Upon this occasion the following general order was published:—  
“The General takes this opportunity of informing the troops before they separate, that he has been honoured with a letter from his Excellency the Governor, of which the following is an extract: ‘I must beg leave, in behalf of my country, to return through you, sir, my sincere thanks to the virtuous yeomanry who have turned out with so much readiness and spirit in opposition to the unjust invasion of our native land. To the gallant officers, also, I wish to make my acknowledgments, who have led their countrymen into the field, and pointed their efforts to the proper object; and especially to those of them who, postponing the scruples of rank

to the substantial duties of a citizen, have again contributed their experience and valour to the public defence.' To this the General begs leave to add, that the readiness which the troops on every occasion have shown to oppose the enemy during the time he has had the honour to command them, the strict obedience they have paid to general orders, the cheerfulness with which they have submitted to inconveniences arising from the want of necessary supplies, and the harmony which has existed between the different corps, entitle them to his warmest thanks."

As a sequel to the history of this campaign, the following letter to the Board of War will perhaps be not inappropriate. It was forwarded by Colonel Grayson, a member of the Board, then returning from Virginia; and the moderate demand it contained was some time afterwards fully complied with.

"Richmond, Dec. 20, 1780.

"GENTLEMEN,—

"The command I have been honoured with during the summer and fall, has from unavoidable circumstances proved much too expensive for a

man of my fortune. At the time when I was ordered on this command, I expected to be at more than the ordinary camp expenses, but had no idea that they would be so heavy as to compel me to distress my family to make them good.

“I beg leave to state to the Honourable Board in a few words the circumstances which occasioned my extraordinary expenses, and to request their determination whether any or what part of them are to be made good.

“In February I was ordered from Philadelphia to Virginia. I was compelled to take my baggage with me, and the severity of the weather with the badness of the roads occasioned me to be almost a month on the journey. When I arrived in Virginia, three places of rendezvous were appointed, (by the advice of the executive,) Winchester, Fredericksburg, and Chesterfield. The first and last were one hundred and eighty miles apart, but still it was necessary I should visit them by turns, which I did once a month; besides this, my attendance at Richmond was necessary, so that I was almost entirely on the roads.

“It would be needless to represent to the Honourable Board that travelling is expensive in Vir-

ginia. Colonel Grayson will, I make no doubt, acknowledge it on his return to Philadelphia.

“I should not have troubled the Board on this occasion, if I had not known that several officers who were sent on command had their expenses allowed, and no reason occurred to me why I should be excluded from the same privilege.

“I have at present vouchers with me for £6,000 Virginia currency, part of which I have borrowed from friends, as no money could be got from the treasury. If this sum is made good to me, I shall be content to relinquish the remainder of my expenses, though far exceeding the £6,000.

“I have the honour to be, &c.”

## CHAPTER VII.

Arrival of Baron Steuben—Orders of General Greene—Mutiny of the Troops ordered South—Suppressed by General Muhlenberg—Arnold's Invasion—Its Object—Condition of Troops at Chesterfield—Letter to Steuben—Movements of the Enemy—Position of American Troops—Plan to capture Arnold—Condition of Muhlenberg's Forces before Portsmouth—Letter to Steuben—Report relative to Attack on the Town—Extract from Letter to Greene—Appearance of the French Fleet—Plan of Operations—Reasons for its Failure—Letters from Steuben—Proposed Arrival of the whole French Fleet and General Lafayette's Land Forces—Position of American Troops—General Gregory's Treason—Distress in Portsmouth—Lafayette's Arrival—Appearance of the English Fleet—Lafayette's Return—Arrival of General Phillips—Letter to Steuben—Muhlenberg's Retreat—Desertion of the Militia—Letter to Steuben—The Enemy ascend James River—General Muhlenberg takes Post at Blandford—Battle of Blandford—Jefferson's Letter—Muhlenberg's Letter—Steuben's General Order—Greene's Letter—Arnold's Report—Arrival of Lafayette—Junction of the Americans—Retreat of the Enemy.

THE increasing importance of the command of Virginia, and the probability that for the future



much larger bodies of troops would be engaged in the operations in that quarter, rendered it proper to send there an officer of higher rank. Accordingly, when the southern department was assigned to General Greene, Major-General the Baron de Steuben was ordered to Virginia, and General Muhlenberg consequently became second in command, a position he retained throughout the campaign of 1781. By the death of General Woodford, which occurred about this time, he also regained the rank he formerly had, that of senior officer of the Virginia line.

On the first of December, Baron Steuben arrived at Richmond, and on the third took command. His orders were the same as those before given to General Muhlenberg, and he immediately commenced forwarding troops and supplies to General Greene,—General Gates having been superseded and ordered before a court-martial, of which General Muhlenberg was appointed a member. The subsequent invasions of Arnold, Phillips, and Cornwallis, however, occupied the time of all the general officers so thoroughly that the court never assembled, and finally the resolution of Congress directing it to be held was very properly rescinded.

The military eye of General Greene quickly discovered, that unless affairs in Virginia were put on a better footing, his efforts to defend the South would be useless;<sup>83</sup> he therefore urged the utmost activity upon the state government, re-organized the quarter-master's department, and leaving orders to be reinforced as soon as General Muhlenberg could spare troops for that purpose from the attack upon Portsmouth, he proceeded to Hillsborough to take command of the southern army.

After the militia and volunteers had been disbanded, the remainder of General Muhlenberg's command consisted of only about one thousand regulars. Of this force, Baron Steuben ordered him to detach four hundred of the best equipped under Colonel Greene, to reinforce the southern army. The officers of this detachment were unpaid, ill clothed and provided, and consequently discontented. A paper complaining of ill usage by the state, and expressing their determination of refusing to march until their grievances were redressed, was signed by them and handed to Steuben, who in a letter to Greene says: "You may suppose I was exceedingly shocked at such

a proceeding. I thought it best, however, to take no other notice of it than to speak to General Muhlenberg on the subject, who has promised to speak to the officers." This mutinous spirit was exceedingly dangerous, for all others being in the same distressed situation, it would have spread like wildfire throughout the army, had these demands been granted. They listened, however, to the remonstrances of General Muhlenberg, who whilst commanding them had won their respect and esteem, and finally, through his influence and that of Colonels Harrison and Greene, the offensive resolution was withdrawn, and on the 14th, the detachment marched for General Greene's headquarters. Thus happily ended a matter which might have proved fatal in its consequences to the American arms.<sup>84</sup>

The remainder of these regulars Baron Steuben intended should follow their comrades, as soon as the necessary clothing and stores for their equipment could be collected, their place being supplied by the new drafts who were still assembling. To fit them for the field, however, was found to be a task of much difficulty, as they were utterly deficient in clothing, blankets, and tents. By dint of

great exertion this was accomplished ; but their march was prevented by a new invasion, commanded by Brigadier-General Arnold, whose force, consisting of about two thousand men, was disembarked at Portsmouth, on the 2d of January, 1781.

The object of this expedition was to accomplish what General Leslie had failed in performing. Its arrival was most inopportune for the Americans ; for the volunteers and militia who had composed the army before Portsmouth were disbanded, the regulars who were fit to take the field had marched to join General Greene, and the remainder were so illy provided that a few weeks previously Baron Steuben had written as follows of their condition to General Greene : “ The business now before me is to get clothes for those wretches at Chesterfield ; they amount to between five and six hundred, but they are so utterly naked, that except I can get some clothes for them they will all be sick before they can be ordered to march.” Thus Virginia was left totally defenceless, although notice of the intended invasion had been sent to the Governor by General Washington ; but the reinforcement of the southern army was deemed of the first importance.

His union of land and sea forces rendered Arnold's progress perfectly secure. The fleet sailed up the James River to Westover, twenty-five miles below Richmond, where on the 4th, nine hundred men were disembarked, with whom Arnold on the day following entered the capital. His stay was marked by the destruction of many valuable stores, the public buildings, and much private property. On the 7th, the enemy returned to Westover, re-embarked, and fell slowly down the river. All this was performed with but trifling loss, for the force under Steuben was so small that no effectual opposition could be made. The enemy were again on board their ships, and their future movements uncertain.

During this time, General Muhlenberg was with his family, having received a short furlough. He had proceeded there before the invasion had taken place, but had been at home but three days when an express was despatched to him by the Baron, with the news, desiring him to take proper precautionary measures for the safety of northern Virginia. The following was his reply.

“Fredericksburg, January 12th, 1781.

“DEAR GENERAL,—

“On the 10th, in the morning, I was honoured with your favour of the 2d, and in consequence of your order set out immediately, and arrived at this place last evening. This morning I saw a letter from General Weedon, wherein he mentions that the enemy had embarked, and that it was thought they were destined for Potomac. As this is the case, I shall continue at this place, collect the militia, and endeavour to make head against the enemy should they attempt to land. I send my aid with this, and shall be happy to receive your orders by him.

“I am, dear General, &c.”

But the enemy, after landing at Hoods, Cobham, and Smithfield, and as usual plundering and burning wherever they went, finally advanced towards Portsmouth, which place it was evidently their intention to hold permanently. This being ascertained, Steuben wrote to General Muhlenberg that it was clearly the enemy's design to establish themselves in the lower counties, and that leaving Gene-

ral Weedon at Fredericksburg to collect troops there, he should march immediately to join the main body, with such disposable force as he then had under his directions. On the 25th, he arrived at Cabin Point, and took command of the troops at that place.

Steuben's first intention was to attempt driving Arnold from the position he had chosen, but on consultation with his officers, he found that scheme utterly impracticable. His next care, therefore, was to arrange his force in such a manner as to prevent hostile incursions being made into the country. To secure this object the following disposition was made. On the south bank of James River, Colonel Parker, with the Suffolk militia, was advanced to Cowper's Mills, the nearest post to Portsmouth held by the Americans; General Lawson, with eight hundred militia, was stationed at M'Kay's Mills, some miles in Parker's rear; and General Muhlenberg with eight hundred infantry, consisting of Colonel Fleming's and Colonel Merriwether's regiments, and Colonel Armand's legion of cavalry, took post at Cabin Point, from whence he could support all the advanced forces. On the north bank, General Nelson, with one thou-

sand militia, and some volunteer cavalry, was stationed at Williamsburg, with orders to guard the shore from thence to New Port News. This well-planned arrangement, it was believed, would effectually secure the state from Arnold's present force, and drive him back to his entrenchments should he attempt to force his passage, although on landing in Virginia, he had threatened "to give the Americans such a blow as to make the whole continent shake."

On the 26th, Baron Steuben returned to Richmond, leaving the actual command of the troops in the field with General Muhlenberg. The reinforcement of, and collecting supplies for, the southern army, had now become of such paramount necessity, as to occupy the Baron's time almost entirely.

For some time Generals Arnold and Muhlenberg lay in this position watching each other's movements, the former afraid to venture into the open field, and the latter too deficient in artillery, &c., to attack the fortifications of Portsmouth. During this time a plan for seizing Arnold was set on foot, the execution of which was entrusted to General Muhlenberg. Having been unsuccessful, it is but little known; but the eagerness displayed, and the



reward offered for his capture, illustrate the universal hatred his treachery had inspired.

On the 31st of January Governor Jefferson wrote to General Muhlenberg, urging the importance and feasibility of the plan. The following is an extract from that letter: "Having peculiar confidence in the men from the western side of the mountains, I meant, as soon as they should come down, to get the enterprise proposed to a chosen number of them, such whose courage and whose fidelity would be above all doubt. Your perfect knowledge of these men personally, and my confidence in your discretion, induce me to ask you to pick from among them proper characters, in such numbers as you think best; to reveal to them our desire, and engage them to seize and bring off this greatest of all traitors. Whether this may be best effected by their going in as friends and awaiting their opportunity, or otherwise, is left to themselves. The smaller the number, the better, so that they may be sufficient to manage him. Every necessary precaution on their part must be used to prevent a discovery of their design by the enemy. I will undertake, if they are successful in bringing him off

alive, that they shall receive five thousand guineas among them."

This attempt was afterwards made, although the correspondence is silent as to the particular manner. It was, however, defeated by the extraordinary precautions taken by Arnold to insure his personal safety, a trusty guard surrounding him day and night.<sup>s5</sup>

Things before Portsmouth still remained in the same situation as before. The American troops, however, suffered severely from the want of proper supplies. On the 31st, General Muhlenberg wrote to Steuben as follows: "General Lawson complains heavily of the wretched situation of the sick in his camp, who are without medicine, physicians, or necessaries. We are here in the same situation, and no other alternative is left us than to disperse the sick in the neighbouring houses. General Lawson would have erected huts to shelter his men, but finds it impossible for want of axes. I have written pressing to Petersburg for a supply, but am afraid it will prove but a scanty one." Such a situation as this, and especially the idea that if sick or wounded they must perish unassisted, would be enough to dishearten most troops.

Judging from his correspondence, General Muhlenberg seems to have become very tired of this state of inactivity. In a letter to Baron Steuben, dated at Cabin Point, Feb. 4th, he advises that our troops skirmish with the enemy as frequently as possible, both to increase the distress in Portsmouth, and accustom them to action. He also says: "If my presence at Chesterfield (where he had been ordered to assist the Baron in making some arrangements relative to the Virginia line,) could be dispensed with, and I could obtain your permission to command where there is a probability of doing something, I would much prefer the latter."

His advice was complied with, and accordingly, putting his troops in motion, he advanced towards Portsmouth, Lawson's and Parker's detachments uniting with him. Although badly appointed, his force was now quite respectable in numbers, and he seems to have been very anxious to draw Arnold into an engagement. On the 19th, he wrote as follows from Suffolk, to Baron Steuben.

"DEAR GENERAL,—

"Yesterday I did myself the honour to inform

you that I was on the enemy's lines, that we had cut off their picket within sight of the works, consisting of a sergeant, corporal, and twelve men, and killed two yagers. The troops are all returned without the loss of a man, and I am making preparations to encamp on Shoulder's Hill, sixteen miles on this side of Portsmouth. I have a sufficient number of men to fight them anywhere, and shall confine them close to their works. We waited for Mr. Arnold yesterday three hours, within one mile and a half of the town, but they would not suffer a man to come out of their works, and a deserter who came out this morning informs me that they are in the utmost consternation. I have not had the pleasure of a line from you since I had the honour to see you last, except the one I received yesterday. A report is just circulating that Lord Cornwallis was marching in full force for Virginia. If so, I am afraid it will prevent Portsmouth from falling into our hands, which otherwise I am sure may be the case in five or six days."

This manœuvring to draw Arnold from his fortifications into the open field was continued for some time, but without success. The reason why more efficient operations were not carried on to force

him either to surrender or leave the state, is best exhibited in the following extract of a letter from General Muhlenberg<sup>86</sup> to General Greene, dated Feb. 24th. "I must acknowledge it is derogatory to the honour of the state to suffer such a handful of men to retain possession so long (now six weeks); but what, my dear General, is to be done? They are strongly fortified; I have near two thousand men, and among the whole about three hundred bayonets, and two brass six pounders. With such a military apparatus, we cannot think of attacking his works by regular approaches, and all my hope is that we shall be able to coop up Arnold so close, that he will be obliged to make an effort to dislodge us."

But the appearance of a detachment of the French fleet under M. de Tilly, intended to co-operate in the attack on Portsmouth, and the dangerous situation of General Greene, who was threatened by the rapid advance of Lord Cornwallis, changed the whole plan. Believing that the retreat of Arnold was effectually cut off, Baron Steuben resolved to send down his battering train to General Muhlenberg, and leave the reduction of Portsmouth and capture of Arnold to that officer,

thinking, perhaps, that as he had had the labour of watching, he should also have the glory of taking the traitor, a thing which now appeared certain. At the same time, the Baron proposed to put himself at the head of the remainder of the troops, consisting of Colonel Campbell's regulars, four hundred strong, and Generals Weedon and Nelson's militia, about twenty-six hundred in number, and march to General Greene's assistance.<sup>87</sup> Colonel Campbell's command had actually moved forward, when the whole of this beautifully arranged scheme was destroyed by a succession of the most untoward events.

The officer commanding the French fleet, after capturing a frigate and some smaller vessels, refused to remain,<sup>88</sup> alleging that the shallowness of the Elizabeth River was dangerous to the vessels, and rendered their presence useless. This was absurd, for as long as he held possession of the river's mouth, Arnold's retreat was cut off, and in a few days he would have been forced to surrender. General Muhlenberg remonstrated, but in vain: the fleet sailed for Newport, and Arnold's position again became safe. The mortification of the American commander at seeing the glorious prize, on which he had counted with so much certainty, thus

snatched from his very grasp, may be better imagined than described.

In the mean time an aid of Steuben's, who had been sent to North Carolina with despatches for Greene, mistaking a skilful manœuvre of Cornwallis for a retreat, without seeing General Greene, returned and reported to his General that the former was retiring as rapidly as he had advanced, closely pursued by the latter. This mistaken intelligence<sup>89</sup> caused the marching orders of the militia to be revoked, and affairs in Virginia returned to their former condition—Arnold still at Portsmouth, narrowly confined by General Muhlenberg, who, however, could not succeed in drawing him from his entrenchments.

The following letter of Steuben to General Muhlenberg, written about this time, deserves attention as a curiosity. The opinion, however, which the Baron entertained of Cornwallis's reported movements, should have led him to suspect the correctness of the information upon which that opinion was founded.

“Head-quarters, Feb. 25, 1781.

“DEAR GENERAL,—

“I have been some time in doubt whether Lord

Cornwallis was a great general or a madman: his late manœuvre proves him clearly to be the latter. His retreat is more rapid than his approach. General Greene crossed Dan River on the 21st, and is pursuing him. I shall set out this evening for Petersburg, and if circumstances make it necessary, for the place where the detachment which marched from this place to-day are ordered.

“I wish you to keep Mr. Arnold close within his lines until you receive further orders.

“I am, with esteem, &c.”

In another letter, written at this time, when he still intended going south, he tells General Muhlenberg that “he leaves the chief command of Virginia in his hands with pleasure and confidence.” Steuben had now had ample time to learn practically the great importance of this situation, and the arduous duties it involved: a compliment, therefore, of this kind, from a veteran of the school of Frederick, implied no light estimate of the military talents of him to whom it was addressed. General Muhlenberg was a thorough master of the German language, and was one of the few officers with whom Steuben could converse upon his first arrival. This fact commenced a friendship which an increased



knowledge of each other's qualities only served to strengthen. A friendly correspondence continued between them after the war, until the Baron's death; and the General, by his judicious location of the land-warrants of the former, secured him from some of the effects of his often improvident liberality.

The importance of capturing Arnold and dislodging the enemy from Virginia, was felt by no one more keenly than by General Washington. The representations of the conduct of M. de Tilly, made by Governor Jefferson, enabled the Commander-in-chief to press the matter warmly upon Admiral Destouches, who finally resolved to sail with the whole fleet, having on board eleven hundred French infantry, for the Chesapeake. As since the march of Campbell's regiment none but militia remained in Virginia, the Marquis de Lafayette was despatched with twelve hundred regulars from the main army, to co-operate with the French troops, and assume the chief command of all forces in that state. In the mean time, General Muhlenberg was directed to keep Arnold closely confined within his works; and to accomplish this end, the former extended his lines around the posi-

tion of the latter in such a manner as to render his escape utterly impossible, unless he first defeated the besieging army.

Lafayette advanced by forced marches from the Hudson, and arrived at the head of Elk on the 3d of March. There he halted his command and waited for news of the French fleet, which was still at sea. Leaving his troops in that position, he crossed the bay in an open boat, and came into Virginia to make the necessary preliminary arrangements for the combined attack.

Whilst all parties are anxiously awaiting the arrival of the French fleet, a brief view of the incidents occurring in Virginia during this time will complete the continuity of the narrative. The new plan for capturing Arnold had been communicated by General Washington to Baron Steuben, who wrote warmly as to its feasibility. The following is an extract from his reply,<sup>90</sup> dated March 1st, at Richmond:

“It was fortunate that, notwithstanding M. de Tilly’s answer that he could not remain in the mouth of James River, that I had not discontinued my preparations for an enterprise on Portsmouth: this leaves it in my power to afford with greater

despatch the necessary assistance in the affair now in agitation.

“You need not, my dear General, be under any apprehensions that Arnold will escape by land. Let his retreat by James River be cut off, and I will answer for delivering him over to the Marquis.

“In four or five days I hope to have four eighteen pounders and two mortars mounted. Eight hundred shells will also be ready, and indeed every other article necessary, at which they are now working night and day. Immediately on the receipt of your letter of the 20th, I reinforced General Gregory at the northwest landing with eight hundred men, under Colonel Everard Meade.

“General Muhlenberg will in two days have five regiments, each of four hundred militia, one hundred and twenty horse, two hundred and sixty riflemen, and four pieces of artillery, under his orders at Suffolk; and General Weedon will arrive in two or three days at Williamsburg, with two regiments of four hundred militia each.”

After giving this statement of force, he advises that the detachment of Lafayette should unite with the main body under General Muhlenberg, with which he would be in person. He also states that

the plan of operations has been communicated to the latter officer, and that as far as the land forces were concerned, everything was ready for the execution of the enterprise.

About this time a very unpleasant occurrence happened, in which General Gregory,<sup>81</sup> who commanded the North Carolina militia, was concerned; and language is almost too weak to express the contempt deserved by those British officers who joined in this infamous plot to destroy the character of a brave and gallant officer.

The enemy's communication with their post at the Great Bridge had hitherto been uninterrupted. This was an important position, and consequently General Muhlenberg despatched Colonel Parker, with three hundred and fifty picked men, to make an attempt to gain possession of the work. During the progress of the attack several gun-boats were captured, one of which contained the baggage of Captain Stevenson, then commanding the post. In the language of Colonel Simcoe,<sup>82</sup> "Among his papers was found a fictitious letter, which he had written, by way of amusement and of passing the time, to General Gregory, who commanded the Carolina militia at the west landing, detailing a

plan which that officer was to follow, to surrender his troops to Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe, the whole plausibly written, and bearing every appearance of being concerted. The manner of its falling into the enemy's hands strengthened these appearances, and at first it served for laughter to the officers of the Rangers; but when it was understood that General Gregory was put in arrest, Captain Stevenson's humanity became alarmed, and the letters which passed between Simcoe and Colonel Parker prevented all further bad consequences."

As soon as Colonel Parker discovered the nature of the letters he had captured, he despatched them by express to General Muhlenberg. The presence of Arnold, the chief of all traitors, in Portsmouth, rendered the matter doubly suspicious, and General Muhlenberg forthwith ordered Gregory under arrest, to answer a charge of treasonable correspondence with the enemy. He protested his innocence, and much correspondence on the subject passed between Steuben, Muhlenberg, and himself. In a subsequent letter to the Baron, General Muhlenberg says, "I really do not know what to think of General Gregory. Appearances are very much against him, and he must give up his command until the matter is cleared

up." This was finally done, as above related by Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe, who satisfied the American commander that General Gregory was innocent, and he was released from arrest. His men, however, were still suspicious of him, and he shortly afterwards retired from the service. Such were the consequences of the "amusement" of Captain Stevenson, who should have been driven from the society of all honourable men for his connexion with this infamous slander. Nor can the light tone in which Colonel Simcoe speaks of it be approved. By means of it, although only discharging his duty, General Muhlenberg was driven to commit an act of injustice against a very worthy officer, which he always afterwards regretted.

During this time General Muhlenberg carried out his plan of frequently skirmishing with the enemy. He made several attacks upon Portsmouth, driving in their outposts, and cutting off foraging parties, until at last the enemy did not venture from their entrenchments. The capture of the post at the Great Bridge by Colonel Parker was a severe blow; and their distress was so great, that it alone would have shortly caused

the fall of the place had it not been relieved. During all these operations General Muhlenberg had the actual command of the troops in the field, Baron Steuben remaining at Richmond, where he was fully occupied in preparing for the arrival of the French fleet, and reinforcing and supplying the southern army.

On the 19th, Lafayette arrived at General Muhlenberg's camp near Suffolk. He had not as yet assumed the command, being unwilling from motives of delicacy to do so until his own troops arrived; but his presence on the spot, it was thought, would enable him to act with greater promptitude on the arrival of the fleet. In order to judge of the strength of the enemy's works, he writes<sup>93</sup> to General Washington, that he and General Muhlenberg marched down with some troops, which brought on a trifling skirmish, during the progress of which they were enabled to see something, but the insufficiency of ammunition prevented their engaging far enough to drive in the enemy's outposts, and the reconnoitering was postponed until the 21st.

On the 20th, however, a large fleet was discovered in the bay. This excited the expectation

of all in the highest degree, the American commanders believing that the prize for which they had toiled so long was now within their grasp, whilst in Portsmouth the utmost consternation and fear prevailed. But the next day the position of the two parties was reversed. The fleet proved to be that of Admiral Arbuthnot, who had engaged and defeated M. Destouches off the capes, and Arnold was again saved from the most imminent danger. The enemy having preserved their naval superiority, and all hope of capturing Arnold being at an end, Lafayette returned to the head of Elk, with the intention of marching his troops back to head-quarters.

But this fleet brought no reinforcements of land troops to General Arnold, and therefore General Muhlenberg's command was still equal to the duty of protecting the country by confining the enemy to their works. On the 24th, he wrote as follows to Baron Steuben: "The marines from Portsmouth have been taken away to man the fleet, and the whole of their transports except four are likewise gone to join the fleet. This, I think, will enable me to keep the enemy close in Portsmouth, and increase their distress for want of provisions, which



is already great; and I cannot learn that the fleet brought them a supply." The Baron's answer contains the following: "I am just favoured with your reply, and thank you for the intelligence it contains. As you are reinforced and have ammunition, you will have it in your power to harass the enemy; but I would advise you to be cautious of hazarding yourself too far."

General Muhlenberg, however, thought the present weak state of the garrison favourable for an attack upon the town, whilst at the same time Colonel Parker should endeavour to cut off Colonel Simcoe, who was out with a force of several hundred men. One or perhaps both of the attacks might have succeeded, but fortune again befriended the enemy. The following is General Muhlenberg's report to Baron Steuben.

"Pinner's Old Field, Tuesday, midnight.

"DEAR GENERAL,—

"To-day I moved down with my whole force, and got the provisions and cartridges safe to Colonel Parker. I had intended to attack the enemy early in the morning, in order to give Colonel Parker an opportunity to make a stroke

at Simcoe, but my schemes were frustrated by the arrival of another British fleet, which occasioned me to retreat to this place. As this fleet has probably brought a strong reinforcement, I shall be happy to hear from you as soon as possible, and to receive your orders in what manner to conduct myself with regard to the troops under my command, as well as those under Colonel Parker. In the mean time, I shall retire to my old camp near Suffolk, until I get certain accounts of what troops this fleet has brought.

“I am, dear General, &c.”

This fleet proved to be the one expected from New York, containing a land force about three thousand strong, under Major-General Phillips, who, after uniting with Arnold's command, were destined to form a junction with Lord Cornwallis. As soon as the news of this new invasion reached the Commander-in-chief, orders were sent to Lafayette to retrace his steps, and marching his troops to Virginia, assume the chief command of that state, for the enemy's force was now so large as to threaten its very existence. He did not arrive, however, until the 29th of April; and in

the mean time the British army was so disproportioned to the American as to bear down all resistance.

Baron Steuben's orders to General Muhlenberg directed him to concentrate his forces and retire. To bring off the two regiments under the command of Colonel Parker, which were stationed at the Great Bridge on the other side of Portsmouth, was the great difficulty. He therefore replied, that he would be obliged to remain where he was until Colonel Parker's return, unless the enemy moved against him in great force; for if he retired sooner, the Colonel's retreat would be cut off. This delicate service was, however, skillfully performed, Colonel Parker's men making a night march, and crossing a considerable portion of the Dismal Swamp on logs; and thus, in spite of the enemy's superiority, General Muhlenberg succeeded in concentrating his force without loss.

The disparity in force being so great, it became necessary as a measure of precaution, for the Americans to remove all their stores, &c., out of the reach of the enemy, into the interior; and this employment afforded full occupation to both officers and men. On the 3d of April, General Muhlenberg,

after having left two regiments at Cowper's Mills, and two at Chuckatuck, retired to his old camp near Scott's,<sup>94</sup> where he says: "I am now, in my opinion, in the best position this place affords, either to prevent their making incursions into the country, or to keep pace with them, should they move up James River, which I am inclined to think they will attempt. Report says that Arnold is to march by land, whilst the fleet, with part of the troops on board, moves up the river."

But a further retreat quickly became necessary, not so much from the enemy's movements, as from the conduct of his own troops. The militia, ever wanting when most needed, insisted upon going home, even at this great crisis. The following letter from General Muhlenberg to Baron Steuben, best explains their cowardly conduct and the situation in which their General was left.

"Camp, April 8th, 1781.

"DEAR GENERAL,—

"The militia, who have served their term of three months, have partly discharged themselves, and compelled me to discharge the remainder. I tried every method in my power to prevail on them

to continue until I could be reinforced from some other quarter, but in vain. About one hundred deserted within two nights out of my camp; and this morning one hundred out of Colonel Downman's regiment, stationed at Chuckatuck, stacked their arms and marched off. The remainder marched into camp with their arms and accoutrements, and now claim their discharge, which I shall be compelled to give them, as their stay will ruin the few troops I have left. Colonels Bowyer and Matthews with the riflemen will march off on Tuesday. Fleming's regiment have likewise served their term, so that I shall be left with about seven hundred men. I had just began to make preparations for carrying off the heavy cannon from Mead's, but am now prevented; and I shall be obliged to send off the military stores of which I am not in present want, higher up the country, as I can see nothing to prevent the enemy from breaking me up, if I continue in their reach.

"I have the honour to be, &c."

The clouds hanging over Virginia were growing darker and darker; and even Steuben seems to have become somewhat discouraged. On the 11th, he

wrote to General Hand, then adjutant-general of the army, as follows:—"I wish it was in my power to give you a pleasing account of affairs in this part of the continent; but indeed everything is gloomy, very little in our favour, and appearances entirely against us. However, we must do and suffer; and if by any means we may obtain the prize we fight for, the price can scarcely be too great."<sup>95</sup> Such a feeling as this, when the future prospect is gloomy, spreads like contagion throughout an army, and destroys much of its efficiency. Labouring under these impressions, then, it is surprising to find how much gallantry the American troops displayed in the ensuing contest.

The enemy had thus far remained quiet in Portsmouth, making preparations for a secret expedition, which, as General Muhlenberg had supposed, was destined to ascend James River. On the 16th, they embarked and proceeded slowly up the stream. General Muhlenberg, whose force now consisted of about one thousand militia, immediately put his troops in motion, and by making forced marches, succeeded in keeping before the fleet, watching their motions, and ready to make all the resistance in his power, should they attempt a disembarkation.

The fleet, however, proceeded to the junction of the James and Appomatox Rivers; and at City Point about twenty-five hundred picked men were disembarked, under the command of Generals Phillips and Arnold. In the mean time, General Muhlenberg had succeeded in posting his command at Blandford, a village about two miles in advance of Petersburg, and of course directly between the enemy and the capital. The position was well chosen, as the British troops were obliged, should they succeed in defeating their opponents, first to obtain possession of a long bridge ere they could pursue them. During these movements Baron Steuben still remained at Richmond.

On the 25th, the enemy advanced towards Petersburg, and about three o'clock commenced the attack. The cotemporaneous accounts vary as to whether Baron Steuben was on the ground or not, the English asserting positively that the American forces were commanded by General Muhlenberg, whilst the Americans say in general terms that the movements were directed by Steuben. The better opinion would seem to be, that the position was chosen by Steuben, and orders sent by him to General Muhlenberg to oppose the enemy's progress

at that point; but that the latter officer was in actual command,<sup>96</sup> whilst the former, at Petersburg, was engaged in the equally important task of directing the removal of his valuable military stores from that city; to gain the time necessary to do which, was probably the cause of the action taking place.

The disparity of force and the difference in the material of the troops engaged was so great, that the result was the cause of much exultation on the part of the Americans. General Phillips commanded twenty-five hundred picked men, the veterans of the British army, while General Muhlenberg had but one thousand militia, who had never seen service, save in the skirmishes before Portsmouth. The action continued about two hours, and was warmly contested, the loss on both sides being about equal. The bridge particularly was well defended; and when forced to retire by superiority of numbers, the Americans drew off in good order, and were not pursued. Governor Jefferson gives the following account of the affair:—"They marched up to Petersburg, where they were received by Baron Steuben with a body of militia somewhat under one thousand, who, although the enemy were two thousand three hundred strong, disputed the



ground very handsomely two hours, during which time the enemy gained only one mile, and that by inches. Our troops were then ordered to retire over the bridge, which they did in perfectly good order. Our loss was between sixty and seventy killed, wounded, and taken. The enemy's is unknown, but it must be equal to ours: for their own honour they must confess this, as they broke twice and ran like sheep, until supported by fresh troops. An inferiority of numbers obliged our force to withdraw about twelve miles upward, until more militia could be assembled."<sup>97</sup>

The following extract of a letter from General Muhlenberg to his brother Frederick, then a delegate in Congress, gives an account of the same action:—"On the evening of the 24th, Generals Phillips and Arnold landed their whole force, said to consist of three thousand chosen men, at City Point, about twelve miles from Petersburg. As we had only one thousand militia assembled, and the ships of war were ranged close along shore, it was thought unadvisable to attempt to annoy them while they were landing, and we therefore retired to Petersburg, where we determined to make a stand. Yesterday, about one o'clock, P. M., the enemy ap-

proached the town in two columns, and were met by our light infantry about a mile from the town, where the skirmish commenced, and every inch of ground to the bridge was warmly disputed. The dispute was very hot at the bridge for some time; but at length they cannonaded us so severely, that we broke up the bridge and retreated in the greatest regularity, after maintaining the fight for nearly two hours. I have the pleasure to assure you that the militia behaved with a spirit and resolution which would have done honour to veterans. I am convinced the enemy have suffered severely. Our loss is not yet ascertained, but I fancy it will not exceed sixty. To-morrow we shall be joined by the Marquis, when I think we shall make Petersburg too hot for them."

In this affair General Muhlenberg seems to have distinguished himself highly, and from the peculiar circumstances under which the action was fought, it attracted at the time considerable attention. Baron Steuben, in his general orders, says: "It is with peculiar pleasure and satisfaction that the General takes this early opportunity to thank in the most cordial manner the officers and soldiers who so very much distinguished themselves in defending

the post of Petersburg, for near two hours, against an enemy far superior in numbers. He begs General Muhlenberg to accept his very particular thanks for his gallantry and good disposition. The officers in general behaved with that spirit and firmness which will always entitle them to his highest approbation." In his official report to Congress he further says: "General Muhlenberg merits my particular acknowledgments for the good disposition he made, and the great gallantry with which he executed it. Indeed the gallant conduct of all the officers and the particular good behaviour of the men, must, I am persuaded, have attracted the admiration of the enemy. I have the pleasure to say that our troops disputed the ground inch by inch, and executed their manœuvres with great exactness." From this last passage it would seem that General Muhlenberg still deserved the reputation he had acquired at the north, of being a strict disciplinarian, and possessed the rare faculty of making *soldiers* out of *militia*.

General Greene, to whom, as commander of the southern department, the affair was reported by Baron Steuben, speaks of it in these terms. "I am happy you came to so judicious a determination of

not hazarding a general action, and yet not permitting the enemy to advance without considerable opposition. Your report of the good conduct of General Muhlenberg, and *the troops under his command*, affords me great pleasure, and claims my entire approbation. This spirited opposition will have a most happy effect upon their future operations.”<sup>98</sup>

After all the above concurrent testimony, the reader will be amused by the account of this skirmish given by General Arnold to Sir Henry Clinton. It exemplifies the proverb of “lying like a bulletin.” He says: “On the 25th, we marched at ten o’clock for Petersburg, where we arrived at five P. M. We were opposed about one mile from the town by a body of militia under the orders of Brigadier-General Muhlenberg, supposed to be about one thousand men, who were soon obliged to retire over the bridge, with the loss of near one hundred men killed and wounded, as we have since been informed; our loss was only one man killed and ten wounded. The enemy took up the bridge, which prevented our pressing them.”

The American forces now retreated to Richmond, where, on the 29th, they were joined by

Lafayette's detachment, who, by making forced marches, and leaving even his artillery behind, succeeded in arriving in time to effect the junction and save the capital for the present. He now assumed the chief command of the forces in the state.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Takes Command of the Regular Light Infantry—Position of the American Forces—Junction of Cornwallis and Arnold—Lafayette's Retreat—Cornwallis's Retreat—Tarleton's Attack upon Muhlenberg's Corps—Orders of Sir Henry Clinton—Battle of Greenspring—General Muhlenberg's advance without Orders—General Wayne Extricated—Strength of American Army—Plans of Combined Attack upon Yorktown—Cornwallis's design to Retreat southwardly by Land—Muhlenberg ordered to Oppose the Movement—His letter to General Jones—Returns to Command of the American Advance—Great Vigilance required—Letter to General Washington—Assault on the "Twin Batteries"—Examination of Colonel Hamilton's Claims—Evidence in favour of General Muhlenberg—Receives Leave of Absence—Letter to General Washington—Applies for Orders to join General Greene—Assigned the Command of Virginia—His Duties—Correspondence with Greene—Letter from General Washington—Promoted to the Rank of Major General—The Army Disbanded—Removes to Pennsylvania—Journey to the Falls of Ohio—Extracts from his Journal—Letter to the President of Congress—Letter to Baron Steuben—Second Journey to the West.

THIS skilful movement of Lafayette prevented the enemy from crossing James River, and after

destroying much property at Manchester, they fell back to Petersburg, where, on the 2d of May, their troops were re-embarked. It was said that General Phillips flew into a violent passion when he saw the prize thus snatched out of his hands by Lafayette's celerity, and that he swore vengeance against him and his corps.

General Muhlenberg now left his division of militia, who remained with Baron Steuben, and as the senior Continental brigadier, took command of the regulars, about one thousand strong, whom Lafayette had brought with him to Virginia. They were the light infantry of the main army, a corps composed of picked men, and as the Marquis himself termed them, "the flower of General Washington's army." Henceforward, therefore, he remained with the main body under Lafayette, and shared in all the skilful manœuvres which enabled that officer to baffle Lord Cornwallis throughout a whole campaign. These movements are, however, so well known, that a very brief notice will here suffice.

The enemy fell slowly down the river, with the intention of proceeding to Portsmouth, when, on the 13th of May, General Phillips died, and General Arnold again became commander-in-chief. The

main body of the Americans remained on the north side of James River, at or near Richmond, for the twofold purpose of covering the capital and protecting the stores at Fredericksburg and the Point of Fork, at which latter place, which was the great laboratory and magazine in Virginia, Steuben was stationed with about six hundred militia. In the mean time, Lord Cornwallis had abandoned his conquests in Carolina, to carry out the ministerial plan of subduing Virginia, and was now at Halifax in North Carolina, whilst General Wayne, with the Pennsylvania line, was marching from Jersey to reinforce the Marquis, although still a long distance off.

The first purpose of Lord Cornwallis was to effect his junction with the force under General Arnold. In obedience to his orders, therefore, the fleet again turned, and the latter officer took possession of Petersburg. On the 18th, General Muhlenberg, with five hundred men of his brigade, successfully performed the delicate duty of escorting a large quantity of ammunition, destined for the southern army, through the outposts of the enemy.<sup>99</sup> Some sharp skirmishing ensued, but the object was accomplished, and the detachment returned



with but little loss. On the 20th, the junction between Cornwallis and Arnold was effected at Petersburg, and the enemy's superiority in numbers was now so overwhelming, that Lafayette's only course was to retreat as rapidly as possible.

This he did, still keeping in such a position as to somewhat cover the depots at Fredericksburg and Charlottesville, whilst Steuben was busily engaged in transporting the stores from the Point of Fork, covering the removal with his militia. In the mean time Lafayette was anxiously expecting the arrival of General Wayne. On the 23d he writes: "Is it not strange that General Wayne's detachment cannot be heard of? They are to go to Carolina, but should I want them for a few days, I am at liberty to keep them. This permission I will improve so far as to receive one blow, that being beat, I may at least be beat with some decency. If the Pennsylvanians come, Lord Cornwallis shall pay something for his victory."

This reinforcement was farther off than he expected, and he consequently retreated until he reached the Rappahannock above its junction with the Rapidan. During the whole of this fatiguing retreat he was closely pushed by Cornwallis, but

constantly evaded the blow. He was, however, unable to prevent detachments of mounted men, under Colonels Tarleton and Simcoe, from penetrating the country in all directions, and destroying the stores and munitions of war of the American army. One detachment even advanced to Charlotte, and the Legislature escaped capture only by having received timely notice of Tarleton's march. The establishment at the Point of Fork was also destroyed, Baron Steuben being compelled to retreat. He succeeded, however, in saving the greater part of the stores.

On the 10th of June, General Wayne, with the Pennsylvania line, about nine hundred strong, joined the Marquis, and Cornwallis, alarmed at his distance from his shipping, commenced retracing his steps. He was followed by General Lafayette, who, by a forced march, succeeded in throwing himself between the enemy and Albemarle Court-house, to which place the American stores had been removed. His force was too strong for attack in the favourable position they had selected, and foiled in his object, Lord Cornwallis commenced his retreat to Richmond, and from thence to Yorktown. Strengthened by the militia under Baron Steuben,

General Lafayette's force was now about four thousand men, of whom half were regulars. This was sufficient to hang on the enemy's rear, and considerably harass his retreat.

But the British commander did not retreat without showing his teeth. His army halted at Richmond, and General Lafayette took up a strong position on Allen Creek, twenty-two miles distant, detaching his light troops close to the enemy's advanced posts. Colonel Tarleton, who commanded the one at Meadow Bridge, believing, from the information he had received of the situation of General Muhlenberg's corps, which was advanced from the main body, that an advantageous attack might be made, was detached on the 18th with a large force to make the attempt.<sup>100</sup> The General, however, gained timely notice of the movement, although Tarleton's advance was secret, and falling back upon Lafayette, met a detachment under General Wayne advancing to his assistance. It was now Tarleton's turn to retreat, and in the skirmishing which ensued, several prisoners were taken. This, says Colonel Lee, "was the first advantage we had gained in these active operations." On the 20th, Richmond was evacuated,

and Lord Cornwallis continued his retreat to Yorktown, closely followed by Lafayette.

The orders of Sir Henry Clinton undoubtedly caused this movement of the British forces in Virginia. He was apprehensive that a combined French and American attack would be made upon New York, and therefore desired Cornwallis, after establishing a fortified post at York or Williamsburg, to reinforce him with all the troops that could be spared. The latter officer thought that the destruction of Virginia should still remain the primary object, and this difference of opinion was most probably the cause of his languid movements, as he did not wish to engage in any active operations which might interfere with the ultimate designs of Sir Henry Clinton. This reason, no doubt, saved the army of General Lafayette upon several occasions ; but at Greenspring he had nearly fallen into a snare laid for him by his able antagonist, which would have proved fatal.

Lord Cornwallis, in executing the orders of his superior, preferred that the embarkation should take place from Portsmouth, which place he intended to strengthen and hold as the fortified post recommended. After halting several days at Wil-

liamsburg, he made preparations for crossing James River at James City. Believing that a young and enterprising adversary like the Marquis, who was then within a few miles, would endeavour to cut off his rearguard, he took his measures accordingly, and so thoroughly deceived the American commander, that the latter felt certain that nothing save a strong covering party remained on the north bank, although the fact was that no portion of the troops had as yet crossed. Acting upon this belief, on the evening of the 6th of July, General Lafayette pushed forward, intending to attack this party. General Wayne, who had been equally deceived, led the advance, and pressing forward with his usual impetuosity, was soon hotly engaged. The weight of the fire, however, quickly convinced General Lafayette that instead of a mere rearguard the whole British army was before him, and he therefore endeavoured to retire from the unequal contest as rapidly as possible. This, however had now become difficult; General Wayne was warmly pressed by the enemy, his flanks were nearly enveloped, and without the aid of some assisting force it was highly improbable that his extrication could be effected. At this critical

moment the brigade of General Muhlenberg arrived. He had also been convinced by the weight of the fire that the Marquis had been deceived, and marching his troops *without orders* to the scene of action, arrived in time to save the advance from capture or a total rout. Lafayette, whose military genius enabled him to repair the mistake he had committed, took advantage of this opportune arrival, and the Pennsylvanians were extricated from their perilous situation, but with the loss of three of their field-pieces. The Americans fell back to their former position; and during the night the enemy crossed to James Island, and from thence to the south bank. Their ground at Greenspring and the Island was successively occupied by General Muhlenberg, who was now thrown in advance, and many valuable horses, of which our army stood much in need, were captured by him.<sup>101</sup>

The strength and composition of the American army at this time are thus given in a letter<sup>102</sup> from Colonel Febiger to Colonel Bland. Regulars: Wayne's brigade, seven hundred and fifty; Muhlenberg's, eight hundred; Febiger's regiment, four hundred and twenty-five. Militia: Campbell's

brigade, seven hundred and eighty; Stephen's, six hundred and fifty; and Lawson's, seven hundred and fifty; together with about one hundred cavalry, three hundred artillery, and five field-pieces. From this estimate, the loss at Greenspring must be deducted. It amounted to one hundred and eighteen regulars, principally from Wayne's brigade.

The enemy now pursued their march to Portsmouth, which upon examination was found ill suited for their purpose, as the works erected and to be erected were useless against a naval force. Lord Cornwallis was therefore obliged to return to Yorktown, the place originally selected by Sir Henry Clinton. After destroying the fortifications at Portsmouth he sailed to York, where he arrived in the latter part of August, and immediately commenced fortifying both it and Gloster, which was directly opposite. General Lafayette remained with the main body in the vicinity of Williamsburg, and General Wayne was on the southern bank of the river, where he had been detached to attack Tarleton, who had made an excursion to Bedford to destroy the stores there collected for General Greene.

The plan of a combined French and American

attack upon Yorktown had already been adopted, and on the 28th of August the fleet of the Count de Grasse arrived in the bay, conveying a considerable body of land troops, under the Marquis de St. Simon, who were forthwith disembarked. The English fleet appeared inside of the capes on the 5th of September, but from inferiority of force were unable to effect anything; they therefore returned to New York to escort the reinforcements which had been promised to Lord Cornwallis by Sir Henry Clinton. General Washington and the Count de Rochambeau were now on their march at the head of the allied forces, and everything promised a happy result of the great undertaking. Cornwallis still continued strengthening his fortifications by every means in his power, while Lafayette's army remained in the vicinity of Williamsburg, General Muhlenberg, with about one thousand men, being advanced to the lines of Yorktown.

Lafayette's great duty now was to prevent his antagonist from retreating by land, for if he was forced to remain in Yorktown until the arrival of General Washington, his fate was certain. Great danger was apprehended of his crossing James River, and endeavouring to retreat southwardly



through North Carolina; and to counteract this design, General Muhlenberg was thrown across the river, and assigned the responsible duty of opposing the attempt if made. Judge Johnson in his *Life of Greene* says: "Although the movement of Lord Cornwallis, with a view to retreat southwardly, is not mentioned by any historian of the war, yet the intelligence came from Lafayette and Muhlenberg, through Governor Burke, and there is little reason to doubt its reality. It is known that Lafayette actually moved to the bank of James River to counteract such a movement, and Muhlenberg was thrown across the river to place himself in Lord Cornwallis's front; not with a hope of resisting him in his progress, but, as Muhlenberg declares, 'with a view to precede him, and by destroying all the means of subsistence and transportation, to impede his progress until he could be overtaken by a force competent to deal with him.' Upon the first intelligence of this movement of Lord Cornwallis, the most animated measures were adopted by Governor Burke of North Carolina to co-operate with Muhlenberg. Every boat on the Roanoke, Neuse, and Meherrin, was secured under guard

or destroyed, every crossing-place guarded and crossed by abatis, and the militia ordered out 'en masse.' ” The following extract of a letter,<sup>103</sup> from General Muhlenberg to Brigadier-General Jones, dated August 29th, 1781, confirms the fact above stated beyond the possibility of doubt. Its publication may be useful, inasmuch as it establishes a point which has been passed over in silence, and even denied by many writers who have treated of our revolutionary history.

“DEAR GENERAL,—

“The Marquis has received certain intelligence that Lord Cornwallis means to penetrate with his army from York to South Carolina by land, to avoid being locked up by the French West India fleet, which is now on the coast. The Marquis directs me to give you this information, and requests you immediately to collect every boat and canoe on Roanoke below Halifax, and have them either brought there or destroyed. Those brought to Halifax must be kept under a guard, that they may be either removed or destroyed as circumstances may render necessary, and you will be pleased to use the same precaution on Meherrin

River. I am just arrived at this place, in order to collect the militia on the south side of James River, and shall, as soon as the enemy begin their movements, endeavour to throw as many obstacles in their way, by destroying bridges, mills, provisions, &c., as possible, and as soon as I am able to ascertain their route, I shall give you immediate notice, retreat before them, and endeavour to form a junction with you on Roanoke. Should the enemy have sent armed boats, or established magazines in any place in North Carolina, (particularly Newbern,) the Marquis requests you will endeavour to destroy them.

“I have, my dear sir, just given you a sketch of our plan. The main body is now moving towards James River, but will not cross until his Lordship moves; but I make no doubt that if your militia and those from this place turn out well, we shall be able to keep his Lordship at bay at Roanoke, until our main army can get up. I shall be happy to hear from you as soon as possible. I shall give you immediate notice of the enemy’s move.”

Whether these active preparations deterred Lord Cornwallis from making the attempt, or whether

he relied so implicitly upon the promised reinforcements from New York, as to remain where he was, cannot now be ascertained; but certain it is, that the attempt was not made, and on the 14th of September, General Washington and Count Rochambeau arrived at Williamsburg.

Some little time was taken up in awaiting the arrival and disembarkation of the two divisions of the allied army, and of the battering train, which had been sent in the division of the fleet from Rhode Island. These matters being arranged, and the plan of attack settled, the troops moved forward from Williamsburg to York, and on the 29th the investiture of the place was completed.

After his return from the southern bank, where he had not been long detained, General Muhlenberg again assumed the command of the advanced guard on the lines of Yorktown, where he had been posted by Lafayette. Upon him, therefore, devolved the very responsible duty of watching the enemy's movements, and confining them to Yorktown until the arrival of the allied army. The position was one of great danger, requiring unceasing vigilance; for it was not to be supposed that Lord Cornwallis would quietly await the arrival of his captors; and

had he made an attempt to escape, the whole weight of the blow would have fallen on the American advance, to whom the least negligence might have been fatal. The following letter to the Commander-in-chief gives an idea of the constant watchfulness required by General Muhlenberg's situation.

“Burwell's Mills, Sept. 23d, 1781.

“SIR,

“Since the evening before last, I have not been able to procure the least intelligence from York, neither have we had a deserter from the enemy since that time. I have had parties continually on the Hampton, Warwick, and Halfway-house Roads, who have been within sight of their pickets, but none of the enemy have been out. It is certain that the number of shipping is much diminished at York; but whether they attempted to get out the night before last, or whether the enemy have sunk them in the channel, I cannot yet find out. A large smoke was seen yesterday morning before York, which has occasioned a report that the enemy have burnt some of their shipping.

“I have the honour to be, &c.”

The only hope of Lord Cornwallis now remain-

ing, was that he would be enabled to hold his position until the arrival of the promised reinforcements. He therefore defended himself desperately, but the American advances were distinguished equally by energy and rapidity. On the 6th, the first parallel was run, and on the 9th, fifty-two pieces of heavy artillery opened upon the besieged. On the 11th, the second parallel was run within three hundred yards of the works; and on the night of the 15th, the enemy's two flank redoubts, known as "the twin batteries," were stormed and taken at the point of the bayonet. The one was attacked by the French grenadiers under the Baron de Viomenil, and the other by the American light infantry, under the general command of the Marquis de Lafayette. This brilliant exploit terminated the siege. The place was no longer defensible; and despairing of being reinforced, on the 17th a parley was beaten, and on the 19th Yorktown surrendered.

This assault, however, requires a more extended notice in this sketch, in order that the justice which has been so long denied, may now be done to General Muhlenberg's conduct upon this occasion. If, in the course of the narrative, it should seem that an attempt is making to detract from the well-

earned reputation of Colonel Hamilton, the writer can only say, that nothing could be farther from his intention, and that his simple object is to arrive at the truth as nearly as possible, and do justice between these parties.

It is now generally stated and believed, that the American light infantry who stormed the redoubt on the left of the British works, were commanded by Colonel Hamilton; and he has accordingly received the honour deservedly due to so brilliant an exploit. Such, however, was not the fact; for the immediate command of the storming party was beyond all doubt entrusted to General Muhlenberg, whose brigade composed it; and the gallant manner in which the attack was executed, would form a bright page in the military history of any nation.

Colonel Hamilton, after having quarrelled with the Commander-in-chief, threw up his appointment on the general staff, and joined Lafayette in Virginia, who gave him a regiment in the brigade of light infantry commanded by General Muhlenberg. The date of his commission made him the senior colonel. To this brigade and that of Hazen was assigned the duty of attacking the redoubt, the whole under the command of General Muhlenberg.

The light infantry brigade was composed of the regiments of Hamilton, Gimat, Barber, and Vosè, and were disposed in the following order. The advanced corps consisted of Gimat's and Hamilton's regiments, the whole commanded by the latter; whilst at the usual distance in the rear came the remainder of the column, consisting of Barber's and Vosè's regiments, and Hazen's brigade, under the immediate command of General Muhlenberg. Almost at the moment of the attack, thinking the advance not sufficiently strong, he despatched Colonel Barber's regiment to its aid, which arrived at the instant the advance were getting over the works, and executed its orders with the greatest gallantry. This little incident alone would be sufficient to show that Colonel Hamilton could not possibly have been in chief command, even if his advocates could explain the military novelty of a colonel commanding his own general. At the same time, high praise is undoubtedly due to Colonel Hamilton, who commanded the advance or forlorn hope of the storming party. He executed his orders with the utmost gallantry and skill, carrying his men over the breach and into the works at the point of the bayonet. But his over-zealous political



friends, who claimed the chief command for him until the country nearly believed it, only injured his well-earned reputation by claiming that for him which he undoubtedly did not possess. General Muhlenberg, after entering the redoubt, was slightly wounded: the only despatch, therefore, reporting its capture, was the one written by Colonel Hamilton, as senior officer of the brigade, and commander of the advance of the storming party. This fact may perhaps account for this unfounded claim, as it certainly gave it some colour.

It may not be improper here to state another fact bearing upon this point, which although depending upon verbal testimony, can be easily established. Major Isaac Heydt, lately deceased, who resided in Frederick County, Virginia, was one of General Muhlenberg's aids during this campaign. He assured the writer in 1840, that General Muhlenberg, accompanied by his staff, advanced at the head of the reinforcement, (Barber's regiment,) and in person led the storming party. This testimony, coming from one of the few surviving actors in the scene, is valuable; and corresponding, as it does, with the official account in part, the remainder is rendered more probable.

The following is an extract from Lafayette's official report, detailing the disposition of the troops,<sup>104</sup> and it is hard to perceive how any other conclusions can be drawn from it, than those above. "Colonel Gimat's battalion led the van, and was followed by that of Colonel Hamilton, who commanded the whole advanced corps; at the same time a party of eighty men under Colonel Laurens, turned the redoubt. \* \* \* Colonel Barber's battalion, which was the first in the supporting column, being detached to the aid of the advance, arrived at the moment they were getting over the works, and executed their orders with the utmost alacrity. The rest of the column under Generals Muhlenberg and Hazen, advanced with admirable firmness and discipline. Colonel Vosè's battalion displayed to the left, a part of the division successively dressing by him, whilst a second line was forming column in the rear. It adds greatly to the character of the troops, that under the fire of the enemy, they displayed and took their ranks with perfect silence and order."

This view of the facts has been before stated, but many circumstances prevented General Muhlenberg's just claims from being pressed. Among the

most prominent of these was the tragic death of General Hamilton, which, in obedience to the maxim of "nil de mortuis," prevented all controversy. The following extracts may, however, not be unacceptable. The first is from the *Aurora*, when edited by the venerable Duane, and was never replied to. "Among the Germans, the man most celebrated was General Peter Muhlenberg, who had distinguished revolutionary services to be proud of, but who has been the last ever to name, and the most reluctant to hear them spoken of. General Muhlenberg, now in the advance of life, with the resolution of a lion when in danger, and with a highly cultivated mind, displays the simplicity of one unacquainted with human affairs, and unsuspecting of human infirmities. This man it was, who, at the memorable siege of Yorktown, achieved that laurel, with which a certain orator at New York wished to ornament the tomb of a man, of whom, being dead, we shall not speak irreverently." The next is from "Rogers' Remembrancer of American Heroes, Statesmen, and Sages," a work published in the early part of the present century. "General Muhlenberg was a particular favourite of the Commander-in-chief, and he was one of those

brave men in whose coolness, decision of character, and undaunted resolution, he could ever rely. It has been asserted, with some degree of confidence, that it was General Muhlenberg who commanded the American storming party at Yorktown, the honour of which station has been attributed by the different histories of the Revolution to another person. It is, however, a well-known fact, that he acted a distinguished and brave part at that siege."

Other extracts of a similar character might be inserted, but it is unnecessary. The writer has endeavoured to perform an act of simple justice; that done, his object is accomplished.

On the 19th the capitulation of Cornwallis<sup>105</sup>—one of the proudest events in American history—took place, and the Revolution was now virtually accomplished.

General Muhlenberg continued in the army until the treaty of peace in 1783. All active operations, however, were suspended, except those in the far South, and a brief notice will, therefore, be sufficient for this portion of his career.

His health having suffered severely in this campaign, he requested permission from General Washington to return to his family until it should be

re-established, in the following letter, in which he very modestly alludes to his constant service.

“ Williamsburg, Oct. 23d, 1781.

“ SIR,—

“ A few days ago, I received permission from Major-General the Marquis de Lafayette, to retire to this place for the recovery of my health; the constant and violent fever I have had for the ten days past, has not only reduced me very much, but I am afraid if it continues much longer, will put it out of my power to remove for some time. I would, therefore, request your Excellency's permission to go over the mountains, as I have at present an opportunity to make use of a carriage going that way.

“ Your Excellency will please to remember that I had obtained permission to visit my family in the spring of 1779, but was prevented by General Woodford's remaining longer in Virginia than was expected. In November, 1779, I obtained your Excellency's permission again, but was stopped in Philadelphia by the Board of War, when the Virginia line was ordered to Charleston. Since that time I obtained permission from Baron Steuben to

go home for a time, but had been there only three days, when I was recalled by express, at the time when Arnold invaded the state.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.”

His request was of course complied with, for few officers could show such an uninterrupted length of service, and that, too, of so severe a nature. His family still continued to reside in Woodstock, and he remained with them until the following spring. In February, 1782, he wrote to General Hand, then Adjutant-General, that, “ having somewhat recovered,” he would be pleased to receive any orders of the Commander-in-chief, and requested to be sent to South Carolina,<sup>106</sup> where the army under General Greene was still engaged in active hostilities. General Washington, however, replied, saying, “ As there cannot be at present any command for you in the southern army, you cannot be so well employed as in superintending the recruiting service, which I desire you to undertake.” He further says: “ I cannot proceed to point out your line of conduct particularly; I can only recommend a strict conformity with the law, and make an *earnest request* that the recruits may be drawn to

the place of general rendezvous *as soon as possible.*" He was thus again thrown into the same position he had occupied in 1780, General Greene still relying for his reinforcements and supplies upon Virginia. But the importance of the command was much lessened, by the fact that for the future no attack upon the state need be feared.

Cumberland Old Court-house, a few miles south of James River, had been appointed the place of general rendezvous, Colonel Febiger being there in command. General Muhlenberg immediately proceeded thither, despatched officers in various directions with recruiting instructions, and established rules, which introduced order and regularity into the system; at the same time he ordered a general court-martial to inquire into the conduct of the officers, many of whom had been long absent without leave. By thus drawing the reins of discipline tighter, he succeeded in putting the line upon a more respectable footing. The Assembly shortly afterwards passed a bill for raising three thousand regulars, the superintendence of which was entrusted to General Muhlenberg. On the 3d of July he writes to the Commander-in-chief, saying that, "From the plan they have adopted, I flatter myself

we shall meet with better success than heretofore." The same letter contains a passage showing the great difficulties American officers had experienced throughout the whole war, arising from the obstruction of transportation. In March, the General had been notified that a supply of clothing had been sent him, and he now had a detachment of one hundred and fifty men ready to march to General Greene's head-quarters, who were only detained by its non-arrival. He says: "Should General Greene order them to march before the clothing arrives, he will be astonished to see so ragged a corps coming from Virginia."

In a letter to General Washington, dated August 15th, 1782, the following passage occurs: "I beg to inform your Excellency that, after I had been at the trouble of sending out recruiting officers, and visiting the different posts, I was compelled to relinquish the finest prospects of success, and by an order from the Governor, to recall the recruiting officers, because it was found impracticable to procure the promised bounty-money. Our whole dependence at present is on the Act passed last session for raising three thousand men by draft." Pressed upon all sides as General Muhlenberg was with



demands for reinforcements, it must have been highly discouraging, after having taken the measures he had, to be obliged to give up his hopes of success on account of the poverty of the treasury. It was, however, but one of the many annoyances of a similar nature to which he was subjected during his long command in Virginia.

The following letters,<sup>107</sup> which passed between Generals Muhlenberg and Greene, relative to the reinforcement of the southern army, present a vivid picture of the then existing state of things, and will be read with interest. They show that although lessened in importance, the command of the former was by no means a sinecure.

“Head-quarters, Round O, Dec. 27th, 1781.

“DEAR SIR,—

“I have not had a line from you for a long time. The late successes in Virginia, and the new arrangements there, leave me at a loss how or where to address myself upon matters that concern the line of your state.

“Captain Ragsdale, by whom this will be delivered you, comes on the most pressing emergency to solicit aid from Virginia, for the support of our

army. The enemy are in daily expectation of very large reinforcements from New York and Ireland, which will make them so very formidable, as to leave us little or no hopes of holding any footing in this country, without speedy reinforcements. I beg you, therefore, if you have this business in charge, to forward us every man fit for duty. The terms of service of most of your line here have expired.

“I am told Colonel Frazer, from ill health, or from matters of interest, is not willing to come to this country. Should this be the case, and Colonel Matthews is exchanged, I wish he may have the command of the first troops that march. I have written to the Governor for two thousand militia to reinforce us, if Continental or state troops cannot be immediately levied. I beg you to have them forwarded without loss of time—everything depends upon speedy reinforcements.

“I am, dear sir,

“Your most obedient, humble servant,

“N. GREENE.

“General Muhlenberg.”

“Richmond, May 25th, 1782.

“DEAR GENERAL,—

“I did myself the honour to write to you in the

beginning of this month, and enclosed a return of the men at Cumberland. Since that time we have received some small reinforcements, among the rest a detachment of seventy rank and file from the eastern shore. I am in daily expectation of receiving clothing from Philadelphia, and as soon as it arrives, I hope to equip and send on two hundred men. The House of Assembly are now sitting, but have done nothing yet of any consequence, except entering into some spirited resolves against any private negotiation with the enemy, and against any negotiations contrary to our alliances and federal union. They likewise resolve to exert the whole power of the state against the enemy, this campaign. How far they will comply with the last, time will evince. Your letter of the 6th instant was this day laid before the House, and is now under consideration.

“ You have, no doubt, heard that Great Britain is again making proposals to treat with America, but still in the old style. They have appointed Commissioners, who are authorized to treat with Congress, Assemblies, or even individuals. This renders the whole suspicious.

“We have not yet received the particulars of the engagement between the fleets, but I am afraid, from every circumstance, that the French were worsted, and have lost six ships of the line, among the rest the *Ville de Paris*.

“Colonel Carrington has arrived, and is forming contracts for the supply of the troops. As soon as this is finished, the Colonel will go on to the southward. I shall be happy to receive your orders with regard to the sending on the recruits, and could wish to be one of the party.

“I have the honour to be,

“With the highest respect, dear General,

“Your most obedient humble servant,

“P. MUHLENBERG.

“General Greene.”

“Head-quarters, South Carolina, July 10th, 1782.

“DEAR SIR,

“Your two letters of the 23d of April and the 25th of May, have been received. The plan you propose of sending the recruits off in companies, meets my entire approbation, but I would have you allot to the several companies the number of the

regiment to which they are to belong. For instance, the first eight companies are to compose the first regiment, the next eight the second, and so on as far as the recruits will extend.

“ I am disappointed very much in being informed that you have only collected one hundred and three men at Cumberland Court-house. Is there no possibility of remedying this capital defect in the execution of your laws? Surely the drafts might be collected if the executive of the state would make some inquiry into the matter. As Virginia has resolved to exercise her whole force this campaign, it is to be hoped that her views will be extended to the state of her Continental line. You, sir, having the management of all military matters in Virginia, may possibly influence their attention to this material object.

“ I place great confidence in your exertions, and doubt not that everything will be done that attention and industry can effect.

“ From the various reports that have gone abroad, you will possibly expect a confirmation of the evacuation of Charleston and Savannah ; but as yet they are both in possession of the British, and I fear will

continue so for some time. There have been no active operations for a long time.

“ I am, sir, with esteem,

“ Your most obedient servant,

“ N. GREENE.

“ To General Muhlenberg.”

Although all active hostilities had ceased, except in South Carolina and Georgia, it was still believed by many persons high in authority, that the war was not ended, but that another attempt at the reduction of the rebellious Colonies would be made. Every effort was therefore used to increase the army, and General Muhlenberg was directed to collect troops as rapidly as possible. The news of the evacuation of Charleston rendered it unnecessary to further reinforce General Greene: he was therefore directed to collect his recruits into a single body, and pay the utmost attention to disciplining and fitting them to take the field. As the future operations, if any, would probably take place in the North, Winchester Barracks was appointed the place of general rendezvous, and in the beginning of November the troops and stores were there removed.

This removal ended his official correspondence and connexion with General Greene, under whose orders he had served almost uninterruptedly from the beginning of 1777. Greene knew him well, and knowing, esteemed him highly both as a man and an officer. Their private correspondence shows that their friendship was undiminished, and, "until the death of the latter," says Judge Johnson, "General Muhlenberg continued to be one of his most intimate and esteemed friends."

The new general rendezvous was but twenty miles from the residence of his family. Henceforward, therefore, his visits were frequent, the more so as the weight of his military duties was considerably lessened. Still, however, he was by no means idle. Many things required his attention, and especially the conduct of some of the officers, who not being actively employed, had leisure to think of and brood over their grievances. This produced a spirit somewhat mutinous, which was increased by the fear that if the war should shortly end, the army would be disbanded without provision being made for their just claims. A few acts of wholesome severity,<sup>108</sup> however, suppressed the spirit within the bounds of General Muhlenberg's command.

Nor were the preparations for the next campaign discontinued. On the contrary, increased activity was desired, as appears from the following letter of the Commander-in-chief, the last in the official correspondence between himself and General Muhlenberg.

“Head-quarters, Newburgh, Feb. 5, 1783.

“DEAR SIR,

“I have been duly favoured with your letter of the 13th of January, and have written to Governor Harrison that it was much to be wished that the obstacles mentioned by you might be removed, and that measures might be taken during the winter for forming the troops now in the state, with the detachment which I imagined would be sent back by General Greene from South Carolina, into a complete regiment or regiments, in such a manner as that they might be properly appointed and fit for service at the opening of the next campaign. I doubt not you will contribute your utmost exertions towards accomplishing so interesting and desirable an object.

“With great regard, I am, &c.”

In the month of March, however, news arrived



that the preliminaries of peace had been signed by the Commissioners at Paris, and the collection of new recruits was therefore discontinued.

About this time General Muhlenberg received his promotion to the rank of major-general,<sup>109</sup> a step well deserved, and hardly earned by long and severe service. He was at this time one of the oldest brigadiers in the army; and during the greater portion of the war, had not only been the senior officer of the Virginia line, but also the commander of the regular troops of that state, which position was the command of a full major-general.

Some months afterwards, the army was formally disbanded, and General Muhlenberg returned to his family in Woodstock. He had the happy consciousness of having discharged his duty; and although at the close of the war he found himself without a profession, his property much diminished, and his health seriously affected, still he thought, in the language of Steuben, "if we win the great prize we fight for, the price can scarcely be too great." That prize was now won.

During the remainder of the summer and fall of 1783, he remained at Woodstock, recruiting his

health, and enjoying that repose to which for years he had been a stranger. His former congregations wished him to return and again take charge of them as their pastor; an evidence of the firm hold he still had upon their affections. He however declined the offer, feeling its impropriety, and saying "that it would never do to mount the parson after the soldier." But the losses he had suffered during the war rendered it imperatively necessary that he should again engage in some profession or business. He decided, therefore, upon removing to Pennsylvania, where his venerable father, who was still living, and the remainder of the family, resided. He intended, when there, to enter into the mercantile business, having made arrangements to that effect with his brother-in-law, then a merchant in Philadelphia. In November, he accordingly removed from Virginia to reside permanently in Pennsylvania, with the history of which state his future career is intimately connected. He dwelt at first with his father, in the village of the Trappe, until such time as he could make arrangements to remove his family to Philadelphia. Circumstances, however, arose, which induced him to relinquish his intention of going into business, and he there-

fore remained at this place during the following winter.

The military bounty lands received by General Muhlenberg for his services during the war, amounting to about thirteen thousand acres, had now become an object too considerable to be neglected. His present intention was to locate the greater part of them in the territory of Ohio, a short distance west of Fort Pitt, and removing to the West, to settle upon them himself. This made him anxious to view these lands personally; besides which, he had been appointed by the Assembly of Virginia one of the superintendents to locate the lands intended for the officers and soldiers of the line of that state. These reasons induced him to undertake a journey to the Falls of Ohio, (now Louisville,) in the spring following. After leaving Fort Pitt, the whole journey was through an unbroken wilderness; and indeed that portion of Pennsylvania lying between the mountains and the fort was not much better. Some few extracts from the daily journal he kept during this journey, may not be uninteresting to the reader.

On the 22d of February, 1784, he set out from the Trappe on horseback, accompanied by a Cap-

tain Paskè. Travelling via Lebanon, Harris's Ferry, and Carlisle, on the 6th of March they reached Bedford, where he gives the following account of his personal appearance:—"Politics and politicians are as plenty here as in Philadelphia, if great things can be compared to small. I had flattered myself that, as we were going towards the frontiers, we should soon be out of the latitude of politics; but even here two men cannot drink half a gill of whiskey without discussing a point in politics, to the great improvement and edification of the bystanders. Especially so to me, while I stand by incog. and hear the name of Muhlenberg made use of, sometimes in one way, and sometimes in another; for were I known, I believe no one would have the hardiesse to mention that name with disrespect, and look at me, for I have at present the perfect resemblance of Robinson Crusoe: four belts around me, two brace of pistols, a sword and rifle slung, besides my pouch and tobacco pipe, which is not a small one. Add to this the blackness of my face, which occasions the inhabitants to take me for a travelling Spaniard, and I am sure that my appearance alone ought to protect me from both politics and insult." On the 10th, they arrived.

at Fort Pitt, where a number of gentlemen were waiting the breaking up of the ice. The difficulty and danger of the journey may be conceived from the fact that in a letter from this place he says, "The fortitude and perseverance of old soldiers were necessary, to bring us through thus far." On the 31st, they commenced their journey, the fleet consisting of five sail, which, says the journal, the company had in joke named the Muhlenberg, the Ellis, the Lewis, the Dowdon, and Carpenter's Mistake. On the 4th of April, they passed the mouth of the Sciota, where the General landed, and on the spot where the flourishing town of Portsmouth now stands, killed a buffalo and a deer. On the 6th, they landed again, not far from the mouth of the Little Miami, where, the journal says, "We killed three buffaloes, but found them too poor to eat, so that we determined to kill no more. The winter must have been very severe here, and hard for the game, as we have this day found several deer, one bear, and four buffaloes dead in the woods, who seem to have perished through want." It seems passing strange at this day to speak of finding deer, bears, and buffaloes within a few miles of the present site of Cincinnati. This place they passed on the 8th;

and of it the journal speaks as follows:—"At three o'clock, we passed the mouth of the Great Miami, a beautiful river, having from appearances excellent bottoms on both sides. From what I have hitherto seen of the river Ohio, and the lands on both sides, I make no doubt that in time this will be the first and most valuable settlement in North America. At present it is inhabited by wild beasts only, whose music in the night sounds rather harsh to the ear, and puts me in mind of heavy iron doors grating on their hinges." On the 11th, they arrived at Louisville, which the General visited the next day, and describes as consisting of "a court-house, a jail, and seven huts besides the fort." He adds, however, that, "from the prospect of the lands in the vicinity of the town, and its situation, it promises fair to become a place of great importance." Both these prophecies have turned out to be remarkably correct.

A large number of officers interested in the military bounty lands were here awaiting the arrival of General Muhlenberg, whose presence as chief superintendent was necessary. A lottery was prepared and drawn, deciding the priority of location of the various warrants; and then prepa-

rations were made to run the lines dividing the lands of the Continental and State officers. The hostility of the Indians, however, and the utter impossibility of procuring the guard ordered by the Governor of Virginia, prevented much being done. Still, various parties of surveyors were despatched to the different districts, and everything accomplished which the circumstances of the case permitted. General Muhlenberg's health was now beginning to suffer under the hardships he was obliged to endure, and a purchase of two hundred thousand acres of land which he had made, rendered his presence necessary in Philadelphia. He therefore resolved upon returning with a small party who intended crossing Kentucky to the Cumberland, then a journey dangerous in the highest degree, the whole country being infested by hostile Indians.

The journal thus describes their mode of life at the Falls. "April 18th.—Several bears were killed in the vicinity of this place; and we now live as perfectly wild as if we were totally in the wilderness. Bear, buffalo, venison, turkey, and fish, form our whole and sole diet. The fish caught in the Ohio are large and excellent in

quality. The catfish weigh from five to one hundred and forty weight, the mushanengi or pike from ten to forty pounds, and the perch from three to fifteen and twenty pounds—the latter is a very delicious fish. As our whole dependence for living is on hunting and fishing, we take it by turns, and I have this day caught eleven fine perch besides some catfish.”

On the 18th of May, they set out on their long and perilous homeward journey, Colonel Harrod's station, (now Harrodsburg,) being their first point of destination. “Here,” says the journal, “I left Mr. May, and went five miles farther to visit Colonel Abraham Bowman, who was formerly my Lieutenant-Colonel. I got there about twelve o'clock, and immediately after my arrival was taken with the fever and ague, which will perhaps disable me from going through the wilderness with the next company, who start on the 25th from Crab Tree Orchard.” The meeting between these two old friends must no doubt have been highly gratifying to both; and by the kind nursing of Colonel Bowman's family, the General recovered sufficiently to be enabled to start with the company, who consisted “of forty-two men, one woman,



and three negroes, who were armed with nineteen guns, several brace of pistols, and some swords. From this place we have now to go one hundred and twenty miles to the next cabin or station, twenty-five miles to the next, and forty to the next. The company have provided themselves with pack-horses to carry provisions for at least ten days, and as we have some reason to apprehend danger from the Indians, we have determined to march regularly, and guard our camp at night to prevent a surprise. 27th.—\* \* \* We passed several graves, where persons had been interred who were killed by the Indians, though, in fact, they cannot be called graves, as they only raise a pile of old logs over the bodies, to prevent the wolves from devouring them. \* \* \* At twelve o'clock we arrived at Flat Lick, where we killed a buffalo and dined. We then started, and at four o'clock crossed the Cumberland River, two miles beyond which we came to a place which is much frequented by the Indians, and not improperly called the 'Shades of Death.' It lies on a small creek between two mountainous precipices, and is covered so thickly with laurel that the beams of the sun cannot penetrate at noonday.

In the midst of the valley we found the bones of several human bodies, on which probably the wolves had made a repast. I proposed making a halt in order to bury them, but the gloominess of the place prevented the motion from being seconded. We rode three miles farther, and encamped for the night on the waters of Yellow Creek, having ridden fourteen miles from Flat Lick. We formed a picket of twenty-four men, and kept four sentries out. I had the honour to be appointed sergeant of the guard, and relieved every hour." Quite a promotion indeed for a Major-General in the armies of the United States, especially as the following extract shows what valorous troops composed his command. "29th. We are now in North Carolina, and travel almost in the direction of the state line. After we had prepared ourselves to start, and some had already mounted, we were alarmed by the barking of some dogs, and at last a dog, with his ears cut and trimmed in the Indian fashion, made his appearance. The company, or at least some of them, gave me a specimen of their valour: every man prepared to shift for himself by mounting his horse, while I took post with my gun at

a tree, and should consequently have been left alone, if the Indians had come upon us: the alarm, however, blew over." From this point they pursued their journey through Virginia, arriving at Washington County Court-house on the 1st, and Lexington on the 8th of June. From this point General Muhlenberg travelled leisurely through the state, meeting with many of his old acquaintances, and enjoying their hospitality, until on the 26th, he reached Philadelphia, having been four months in accomplishing his long and arduous journey.

Shortly after his return, he addressed the following letter to General Mifflin, then President of Congress, in relation to the disposition of the Indians in the western territory. Its length must be apologized for, by the important link it supplies in the history of our western settlements.

"Philadelphia, July 5th, 1784.

"SIR,—

"I have the honour to inform your Excellency that I have just returned from the Falls of Ohio, where, during my stay of two months, I endeavoured to make myself acquainted, as much as

circumstances would admit, with the present disposition of the Indians in that quarter, relative to peace with America.

“I take the liberty of troubling your Excellency with the few remarks I have made, wishing to conduce towards hastening the treaty with the Indians, as it is, in the opinion of those best acquainted with Indian affairs, the critical time in which the best opportunity offers, either to establish a peace, or prevent them from forming a general combination against us.

“From the best accounts we could get at the Falls, several attempts have lately been made by some of the Indian nations to form a general confederacy, which was prevented by the Shawneese, who refused to join until they should be fully apprised of our intentions, and by a quarrel which arose between the Kickapoose and Chickesaws, who are now engaged in a desperate war.

“A public embassy from the Shawneese arrived at the Falls during my stay there; they informed me that it was the general wish of the nation to engage in a firm and lasting peace; but so much time had elapsed since hostilities between America and Great Britain had ceased, in which nothing

had been done with regard to them, that they suspected our intentions were not friendly, and in their private discourse they gave us repeated hints, that if we meant to take any of their land on the west side of Ohio, it would not be given up without a contest. They have, however, delivered up part of the prisoners they have taken, and have promised to bring in the whole. The Piankeshaws likewise sent an embassy requesting a treaty, but their number as well as influence is small, and I believe their coming was occasioned by a report that an armed force was coming against them, to chastise them for some depredations they had committed near the Falls.

“In April last, a council was held at Oport, to which the different tribes on the Wabash were invited, but none attended except the Piankeshaws. The Owiottonons, Maumees, Kickapoose, and Lower Delawares refused, and not only threatened the Piankeshaws if they went to the council, but openly declared that they intended to commence hostilities against us; and I have reason to believe that nothing has hitherto prevented them but the hope they still entertain of being joined by the Shawneese and their allies. The Chickesaws

have been and still continue to show themselves friendly, giving every assistance to our people coming into the nation. They sent a message to the Falls in May, requesting our assistance against the Kickapoose, and informed us that the Kickapoose had lately killed five or six white men at the mouth of the Ohio, and burned one man where Fort Jefferson lately stood. They likewise gave us another piece of information, on which, however, I lay no great stress: that the Spaniards had promised them and some of the neighbouring nations, to supply them with ammunition, &c., provided the Americans should attempt to dispossess them of any of their lands.

“From every observation I have made, I am led to believe that the Shawneese at present take the lead among the Indian nations on the western waters, and that if a general treaty cannot be held at this time, a particular treaty with them would keep the other Indians quiet, and give us so much time, at least, as will be necessary to provide against the worst. If this is not done before the fall, I am convinced from the present situation of affairs that a war is unavoidable. The frontier inhabitants show as much inclination for it as

the Indians, expecting that troops from every quarter will be sent to their assistance.

“The gentlemen who received the Illinois grant of one hundred and fifty thousand acres opposite Louisville, on the west of Ohio, have already laid off a town in that district, which is settling fast, and this will probably give rise to an immediate quarrel.

“I should not trouble your Excellency with these remarks, did I not plainly foresee the miserable situation to which the frontiers will be reduced by a war breaking out at this time, when the inhabitants are totally unprepared, and lulled into security by depending on a general treaty, and on succours, which at any rate must come too late, if the Indians act decidedly.

“Permit me further, sir, to express my fears with regard to the places at which it is said the treaties are to be held,—Fort Pitt and Louisville. The inhabitants near the first have not forgot poor Crawford and his fellow-sufferers; those at the latter still remember the Blue Lick and other places, where the Indians exercised their cruelties upon them; and private revenge will certainly take place, especially in a country where every man thinks he has a right to do what seemeth best in his

own eyes. Fort M'Intosh, the mouth of the Great Miami, or the new town opposite Louisville, would be much more eligible, and prevent the mischiefs that might otherwise arise.

“As I mean to become a resident of the western waters, and shall set out again for the Falls in September next, I shall be happy to be the bearer of any orders, either from your Excellency, or the honourable the Committee of Congress.

“I have the honour to be, &c.”

The following letter written to Baron Steuben is upon the same subject. It is interesting, as it shows not only their continued friendship, but also the care General Muhlenberg took of the pecuniary affairs of his old commander.

“Philadelphia, Sept. 9th, 1784.

“DEAR GENERAL,—

“In the beginning of July I returned to this place from the Falls of Ohio, and should have written to you immediately, had I not flattered myself that I should see you on your farm in the vicinity of New York; but my intentions have hitherto been frustrated by some business or other, and the time is



drawing near when my presence will be necessary at Louisville. I should have continued at the Falls this summer, had I not found it absolutely necessary to wait on Congress to give them some information relative to the settlements on the western waters, and to hasten, if possible, the treaty with the Indians. The Indians show many signs of discontent, and cannot bear the thoughts of our settling on the west side of Ohio, where the most valuable part of our military lands lie. A treaty with them, I hope, will put us in full and peaceable possession of Sciota, where I think the best part, if not the whole of your lands, ought to be located. I shall, however, (if I do not receive your orders to the contrary,) act for you as I would for myself, and locate where I think it will turn out to the greatest advantage.

“I have this day received a letter from Major Ludeman,<sup>110</sup> who is at present in Richmond. He requests me to solicit a recommendation from you to Congress in his behalf, that he may obtain a part of his arrearages of pay in specie, to enable him to return to Europe ; upon the same footing as some others have received. I did not wish to trouble you with things of this kind, but Ludeman is so

deserving an officer, that I thought it my duty to acquaint you with his request.

“I shall continue in this city for two or three weeks longer, and shall be happy to receive a line from you before I set out.

“I have the honour to be,

“Dear Baron, &c.”

At the time appointed, General Muhlenberg again set out on a journey to the West, and succeeded in locating his own land-warrants, and those entrusted to him by his friends, to his satisfaction. At the same time he finished the duties assigned him as superintendent. These objects being accomplished, in the winter or spring following, he returned to his family in Philadelphia.

## CHAPTER IX.

Civil Life of General Muhlenberg—The Society of the Cincinnati—His Connexion with the Order—Elected Vice-President of Pennsylvania—Insurrection in Wyoming—Its Causes—Exertions in favour of Ratification of the Constitution—Elected Member of the First Congress—Course in that Body—Coolness with General Washington—Its Cause—Command of the Indian Army—Baron Steuben's Annuity—Removal of Congress—Formation of a new State Constitution—The Trout Letter—Elected Member of the Third Congress—Proposed by the President as one of the Generals in the New Army—Elected Member of the Sixth Congress—Condition of Parties—His Support of Mr. Jefferson—Election of 1800—Plan for Declaring the Election Null—Mr. Jefferson's Letter—Course of General Muhlenberg—Elected to the United States Senate—Appointed Supervisor of Pennsylvania—Collector of Philadelphia—His Death and Character.

THE few remaining pages of this sketch will be devoted to a concise account of the civil life of General Muhlenberg. It must, however, be necessarily very brief, the narrative having already exceeded the limits assigned. This part of his

career, too, continued for nearly twenty years, during the greater portion of which time he was high in office, and intimately connected with all the leading men and measures of this most interesting period of our national existence, a period of which the secret history still remains to be written. His correspondence with Jefferson, Gallatin, Rush, Franklin, Mifflin, M'Kean, Leib, and others, would alone cover many pages; but were this part of his life examined with the same minuteness as the military portion, many chapters, instead of one, would be requisite.

Before proceeding to that part of his career which may be strictly termed civil, a few words will be necessary to explain his connexion with the Society of the Cincinnati. The history of that order is so well known as to render any account of its origin unnecessary. Its purposes were undoubtedly pure and good, and its establishment was a natural result of the disbanding of the army. It was not to be supposed that men who had shared together the toils and dangers of a seven years' war, would willingly separate without making some arrangement to keep up their connexion, and occasionally meet to chat over the way in which fields

were lost and won. But although this, and this only, was the original design, another object was so plain and evident a result of the institution of the order, that without being openly avowed by either, it was felt and tacitly acknowledged by both soldiers and civilians.

The officers of the revolutionary army, after having endured hardships and privations scarcely paralleled in history, now that the great object for which they had struggled was accomplished, were about being disbanded, and it was very evident that the country was unwilling or unable to recompense them for their services. If the officers consented to this dissolution, the moment they were separated, and scattered, as they would be, over the whole length and breadth of the land, their influence would be annihilated, and their only dependence be upon the justice of the government. By remaining united, however, they still continued to form an important body in the legally unrecognised divisions of the people, and by acting in concert and as a whole, their weight and influence would be sufficient to enable them to demand justice if denied. This was undoubtedly the cause of the violent hostility to the order existing among civi-

lians, although, as is often the case, it was never mentioned, but the so-called aristocratic features of the institution were the objects selected for attack.

General Gates was the senior, General Muhlenberg the second officer of the Virginia line; but the former, since his suspension from command in 1780, had tacitly withdrawn from the army, and the latter became its virtual head. In this position he felt that he had grave duties to discharge towards the brave men who had officered those troops. He knew their services and their sacrifices, the justice of their claims upon government, and the little probability of those claims receiving attention. Knowing these men, too, so intimately as he did, he believed correctly that, after the patriotism they had already displayed, there was no danger of their taking any step which would tend to destroy the liberty their swords had won. With these views, General Muhlenberg became and continued an active member of the order.

In the mean time the contest waxed warm. Governor Burke, of South Carolina, commenced the attack upon the Cincinnati. Men's minds became inflamed, and the struggle bid fair to result in drawing closely the lines between the civilian and

the soldier. This was to be deprecated, for it was sowing dissension in the nation at a time when unanimity was all-important. It was producing an evil greater than any good which could result from the establishment of the order; and the officers added another to the long list of sacrifices they had already made, by voluntarily laying down the power they possessed. The obnoxious features of the order were expunged, the masses were satisfied, and harmony was restored. In this work of reconciliation, General Muhlenberg was among the foremost. He had supported the institution of the Cincinnati, believing it to be beneficial and proper; but when he found that its existence in its then shape, acting upon the prejudices and inflamed passions of the multitude, threatened to become a great evil, he yielded. Some provision had been made for the officers; and its being made was in a great measure to be attributed to the influence exerted by the Cincinnati, during the short period of their active existence.

Throughout his whole life, General Muhlenberg's frankness and affability of manners seem to have rendered him a favourite with the people. This was evidenced in Virginia, in the year 1774, and

now again in Pennsylvania. Although he had been a resident of the state but a single year, he was nevertheless elected Vice-President in the fall of 1785, Dr. Franklin being at the same time chosen President. These elections were held under the Constitution of 1776, then in force, and which assigned these titles to the first and second officer of the state.

General Muhlenberg continued to hold this office, being annually re-elected, until the fall of 1788; and as Dr. Franklin was at this time much engaged in national business, and consequently absent for long periods, the reins of government were for the greater portion of the time in the hands of the Vice-President. During these years nothing occurred worthy of particular mention in this place, save the insurrection in Wyoming. This was produced by the conflicting claims of the states of Pennsylvania and Connecticut. The former claimed the northern boundary she at present possesses, whilst the latter, on the authority of her original charter, insisted that her northern and southern boundary lines should be extended westwardly to the Mississippi; which claim, if allowed, would have embraced the whole northern portion of Pennsylvania. Both



states had erected counties, both had sold lands, the same tract being often sold to different persons; both had appointed sheriffs, and both claimed jurisdiction. The disputes arising from contested land claims, however, proved to be the worst in their effects; and as Pennsylvania actually exercised jurisdiction, the New England settlers took up arms, and for a short time the beautiful valley of Wyoming was the scene of a petty civil war. The most important of these events occurred during the time that General Muhlenberg was the chief executive officer of the state, and upon him fell the unpleasant duty of suppressing this insurrection. Bodies of militia were repeatedly called out to aid the sheriff; and upon one occasion, in the year 1788, the Vice-President was obliged to ask of Congress that a regular force be ordered there, which was done. This show of force re-established the authority of Pennsylvania. Many of the insurgents were captured, some killed, and the remainder, after releasing Colonel Pickering and the other prisoners, fled from the state. By these energetic means the insurrection was suppressed, but the flame continued smouldering as long as the countenance of the state of Connecticut was ex-

tended to the rioters, nor did the disturbances finally cease until the claims of that state were ceded to Pennsylvania.

During this time the question of forming a new constitution was agitated, the old articles of confederation having proved themselves utterly insufficient for the purposes intended. The powers conferred upon Congress by that instrument were insufficient for the government of the nation either in peace or war; and accordingly, delegates from the different commonwealths met in convention at Philadelphia, and on the 17th of September, 1787, presented the present Constitution of the United States to the states, for adoption or rejection. Its merits were warmly canvassed, and much opposition existed to its provisions. General Muhlenberg was an ardent advocate of its adoption, and exerted his influence in Pennsylvania, particularly with the Germans, most successfully. It was said at the time, that to his exertions was owing in a great measure the speedy adoption of the new constitution by that state, a decision which exerted great influence upon the other members of the confederacy. His brother Frederick was Speaker of the State Convention called to ratify or reject the

instrument; and as both held at the same time high official position, and united in their object, their mutual efforts increased their power.

In the year 1788, the Constitution was ratified by eleven states, and went into operation. In December of the same year, General Muhlenberg was chosen one of the members of the first Congress, to serve from March 4th, 1789, to March 4th, 1791. The election was held by general ticket, eight members being chosen.

This Congress assembled at New York, then the seat of government; but nearly a month elapsed before a quorum appeared. On the 1st of April, this was found to be the case, and the House organized by the election of Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, of Pennsylvania, as Speaker.<sup>111</sup> Many important duties devolved upon this body. It was the first Congress assembled under the Constitution, and the new government was to be put in motion under all the disadvantages usually experienced in starting so cumbrous a machine; in addition to which, a great mass of business was to be disposed of, that had been left undone by the old Congress. The Constitution, too, was untried; much hostility existed towards it, and numerous amendments were

proposed by the various states, which were to be acted upon by this Congress. Revenue was to be provided for a bankrupt treasury; debts of an enormous amount were to be ascertained and paid; and preparations made to guard against the threatening relations of the country, both with some of the European powers, and the Northwestern Indians.

Although rarely speaking, General Muhlenberg took an active part in all the proceedings of the body of which he was a member, serving upon several important committees, among which were that on the national defence, that on the regulation and discipline of the militia, who were then the only defence of the country, and intended to supply entirely the place of a standing army; and that on the reserved military bounty lands of Virginia. In all these, his military knowledge and experience proved highly serviceable.

In the limits of a single chapter, it is of course impossible to detail his views and action upon the great questions then dividing the country. One of his votes, however, must be mentioned, as it had the misfortune to lose him for a time the friendship of General Washington.

The President, although a firm republican, was

a Virginia gentleman of the old school, and accustomed to the observance of a considerable degree of form and ceremony. Educated as he had been, and thinking as he did, it was natural that he should wish the introduction of some form and pomp into the new government of which he was the head. He desired particularly that some title should be annexed to the presidential office, and was said to favour that of "High Mightiness," used by the Stadtholder of Holland. A resolution to appoint a committee to inquire by what title it would be proper to address the President, was introduced into both Houses of Congress; and whilst it was under discussion, it so happened that General Muhlenberg with several other members of Congress were invited to dine with the President. Among the members was Mr. Wynkoop, of Pennsylvania, a gentleman remarkable for his large and commanding stature. At the table the resolution as to the President's title naturally underwent some discussion; and General Washington, in his usual formal manner, turning, said, "Well, General Muhlenberg, what do you think of the title of High Mightiness?" The latter replied, laughingly, "Why, General, if we were certain that the office would always be held by men as large as yourself

or my friend Mr. Wynkoop, it would be appropriate enough; but if by chance a President as small as my opposite neighbour should be elected, it would become ridiculous." This evasive reply, so different from what was expected, produced some merriment, and General Washington looked displeased. General Muhlenberg, however, whose feelings inclined him towards the strict republican party, then led by Jefferson and Madison, voted against any title whatever being conferred on the President; and this vote, it is said, completed General Washington's displeasure. The storm afterwards blew over, but whilst it continued, it probably contributed in causing another disappointment to General Muhlenberg.

This was the loss of the command of the Indian army. The Indians in the Northwestern Territory had been dissatisfied for some years at the rapid advance of the whites; and this dissatisfaction now broke out in open hostilities, which were so formidable as to require an army of regular troops to be sent from the East. General Muhlenberg's acquaintance with the Indians of the West, gained in his two visits to Kentucky, his popularity with the western frontier-men, and skill in their peculiar

mode of warfare, pointed him out as an eminently proper person for this command. He was accordingly warmly pressed upon the President by his friends; and before the slight rupture alluded to, it was generally supposed that he would be appointed. General St. Clair was, however, selected, and General Muhlenberg remained in Congress.

During this session he also had the satisfaction of again befriending Baron Steuben,<sup>112</sup> having been mainly instrumental in procuring the allowance of an annuity of \$2500 per annum to the Baron, as a recompense for the losses he had sustained by resigning the offices he held in Germany.

During this session, also, the question of the removal of Congress from New York to Philadelphia was agitated, and finally passed, the permanent seat of government being fixed in the state of Pennsylvania, on the banks of the Susquehanna. The last clause of the resolution was afterwards modified, but the former was carried into effect, Congress remaining at Philadelphia until its removal to Washington. Much feeling on this subject was manifested, and General Muhlenberg advocated the measure warmly. Dr. Rush, in a letter to him, writes as follows:—"I rejoice in the prospect of

Congress leaving New York: it is a sink of political vice. I have written fully to Mr. Madison upon the subject." And again:—"Do as you please, but tear Congress away from New York in *any way*. Do not rise without effecting this business."

The formation of a constitution for Pennsylvania was the next great object that required the attention of the statesmen of that commonwealth. That of 1776 was defective in many respects, but principally in its having constituted a body called the Council of Censors, whose powers were unlimited, extending even over the constitution itself. In conjunction with his brother, General Mifflin, Dr. Rush, A. J. Dallas, Thomas Leiper, Dr. Leib, and other leading men of the state, General Muhlenberg turned his thoughts in this direction. Their united exertions procured the call of a convention, who finally produced the constitution of 1790, of which, in another letter, Dr. Rush said very truly, "It is thought by good judges to be the best in the union, if not in the world." The adoption of this constitution was in a great measure to be attributed to the influence exercised in its favour by General Muhlenberg among the Germans; and some years later, when an attempt at alteration was made, he wrote



to General, afterwards Governor Hiester, the letter which is still known in Pennsylvania politics as the "Trout Letter." Its publication was thus prefaced: "Although permission was not given for presenting it to the press, yet considering the weight of this revered patriot's opinions in the state, it was deemed of too much importance to be withheld from the public." The following is the letter itself, the peculiar phraseology of which arises from the fact that it is a translation from the German.

"Philadelphia, Aug. 3, 1805.

"MY DEAR SIR,—

"Have you again arrived safely at Reading, or are you still wandering among the Blue Mountains, talking of the election and feasting on trout? As soon as you return, let me hear of the prospects in your country.

"I have heretofore thought that, as I was an officer of the United States, it would be improper for me to interfere too zealously in this affair. But I cannot help observing with surprise and regret that many of our countrymen suffer themselves to be led astray, without reflecting upon the consequences which must ensue if a change should at

present be made in the constitution. Our countrymen, the Germans, are generally not so light-minded in important affairs; and it must now be owing to a want of information. We have heretofore lived peaceably, happily, and contentedly under the operation of the present constitution; and although it might be amended in some instances, yet the question which naturally arises is, whether this is the proper time to attempt it, when the minds of men are exasperated, and no one will yield to the other.

“If the people have once given up their right, if they have once called a convention, this convention has the right of making any alteration it pleases, or of completely overthrowing the old constitution, and forming one entirely new. This new constitution may be then as it will; it may please us or not. Repentance will come too late, and we shall be completely bound. The more I reflect on this subject, the more I am convinced that an alteration, if made at present, would produce the most unhappy consequences to the peaceable farmer. That many wish to fish in troubled waters is evident; and that some have reached the height of impudence, and are lost to all sense of shame, is certain. For Heaven’s sake, only read that shameless toast, drank

publicly on the fourth of July last—‘*The equal distribution of property!*’ Wo, therefore, unto him who has a large farm, particularly when others possess none.

“Excuse the hasty manner in which this is written. I have so little time I can call my own, that I have been compelled to write this in my office.

“Your sincere friend,

“And humble servant,

“P. MUHLENBERG.

“Joseph Hiester, Esq.”

This decided letter did much to check the spirit of innovation and even agrarianism which was then raising its head, and the proposal to change the constitution met with an almost unanimous rebuke at the ballot-box. It is introduced here as a memento of the past, and on account of the great excitement its appearance produced.

In December, 1793, General Muhlenberg took his seat in the Third Congress of the United States, having been chosen a member from the Montgomery district, and served until its termination in March, 1795. His brother Frederick at the same

time was again chosen Speaker. During this Congress he served on many important committees, principally, however, on those connected with military subjects.

In the year 1798 an incident occurred which was highly complimentary to the military reputation General Muhlenberg had established for himself in the late war. The aggressions of France rendered it necessary to raise a new army, which was placed under the command of General Washington, whose advice was desired respecting the appointment of general officers. For this purpose a list was presented to him by the Secretary of War, and upon this list the name of General Muhlenberg was placed, along with those of Knox, Hamilton, Lincoln, Morgan, Gates, Hand, Pinckney, Burr, and others.<sup>113</sup> This was at a time when General Muhlenberg was an open and violent political opponent of the administration of Mr. Adams, a fact which enhances the value of the compliment, for it takes away all suspicion of favouritism.

Ever since the formation of the Constitution, the difference between the two political parties had been growing wider and wider, but now the party lines were being strictly drawn, and it behooved

men to take sides. In Pennsylvania especially, party feeling was at its highest, and as the Republican party was stronger there than in any other large state, it became the principal battle-ground. The following extract from a sketch of General Muhlenberg, published in the *Democratic Review*,<sup>114</sup> shows the course he took in these "troubulous times."

"During the period of General Muhlenberg's Congressional services, the political parties were developed which have ever since, under whatever change of name, agitated the country. In that day they were known as Federal and Republican, and then, perhaps, more than at any subsequent time, did party feeling run highest. As a leader of the Republican party, General Muhlenberg took an early and decided stand. He was not a man to flinch from the responsibilities of his party position, and bringing to it as he did, great weight of character and of personal popularity, his influence in building up and sustaining the ascendancy of his party was felt and freely acknowledged. In 1799, as in 1844, the gubernatorial election in Pennsylvania was made the battle-ground of the approaching presidential contest. It is a matter of history what

means were resorted to in order to overawe the Republicans of that state upon that occasion. The part that General Muhlenberg then took, was admitted at the time to have mainly contributed to the success of the Republican candidate, Thomas M'Kean. The result in Pennsylvania saved the Republican party of the Union."

In the year 1797, at the presidential election which resulted in the choice of Mr. Adams, he was an elector from Pennsylvania, and voted upon every ballot for Mr. Jefferson. In the year following he was again chosen a member of Congress, to serve from the 4th of March, 1799, to 1801. These were the years still known in the political history of Pennsylvania as the Reign of Terror, and in truth the heavy hand of Government was felt severely by its political opponents in that state. During this Congressional term the contest between Jefferson and Burr took place, and both having the same number of votes, the election was referred to the House of Representatives under the provision of the constitution then in force. General Muhlenberg was a warm supporter of Mr. Jefferson during the whole of this arduous contest, voting for him on every ballot, until the thirty-sixth, when he was

declared elected, the Federalists having become alarmed, and withdrawn several of their votes.

During the pendency of this contest, an event occurred which is not generally known, and in which General Muhlenberg was one of the prominent actors. It was the nearest approach to a revolution which has ever threatened this country, and for that reason probably all papers connected with it have been destroyed, and the very existence of the project is almost unknown. Greatly as steps of this kind are to be deprecated, there was much in the circumstances to excuse the gentlemen engaged. Their passions were excited to the highest degree, they believed that the clearly expressed will of the people was to be set aside under the semblance of law, and that the liberty of the country was in danger. Besides this, nearly all had been actors in the Revolution, and hence a civil war, or rather the intervention of an armed force, was not deemed so terrible an act as it would be at the present day. The disease certainly was desperate, and they may therefore be excused for intending, if necessary, to apply a desperate remedy.

The Government, after finding that no choice was made by the House of Representatives between

Jefferson and Burr, desired the passage of a law declaring the election null and void, and vesting the chief executive power in some officer, probably the Chief Justice. This outrageous violation of the constitution would have secured their position to the party in power for another presidential term; and with so easy an example before them, of nullifying an election, it may well be doubted whether any other would ever have taken place. Mr. Jefferson, in a letter<sup>115</sup> to Monroe, dated Feb. 15th, 1801, gives the following account of these occurrences. "If they could have been permitted to pass a law for putting the government in the hands of an officer, they would certainly have prevented an election. But we thought it best one and all to declare openly and firmly, that the day such an act passed, the Middle States would arm, and that no such usurpation, even for a single day, should be submitted to. The first shook them, and they were completely alarmed at the resource for which we declared, to wit, a convention to reorganize the government and amend it. The very word convention gives them the horrors, as in the present democratical spirit of America, they fear they should lose some of their favourite morsels of the constitution."



The plan thus faintly shadowed forth was undoubtedly firmly resolved upon as an ultimate resort, and preparations fully made for carrying it into execution. General Muhlenberg was selected as the head of the military force necessary, and the militia of Pennsylvania under his command were to march immediately upon the capital and depose the usurping government, whilst the states called a convention to amend the constitution. It would have been a fearful blow to the cause of self-government, and every American should thank heaven that so great a calamity was averted. But before condemning those engaged in the scheme, among whom were Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, M'Kean, and others of the purest patriots in the country, it would be well to inquire whether a quiet submission to so fatal a violation of the constitution, would not have been a greater blow to the liberties of the nation, than even a restoration of the constitution by force. At all events, no one can doubt that the actors were influenced by the purest motives, and by what they firmly believed to be the good of the country. The dangerous nature of the scheme probably prevented any part of it being committed to writing, the

extract from Jefferson's letter being the only documentary evidence the writer has been able to find; the other facts above stated were related by General Muhlenberg himself to his nephew, shortly after their occurrence.

On the 18th of February, 1801, he was elected a member of the United States Senate from Pennsylvania. A few months after taking his seat, however, he resigned this post, and on the 30th of June, in the same year, received from Mr. Jefferson the appointment of Supervisor of the Internal Revenue for that state. In July, 1802, he was appointed Collector of the Port of Philadelphia, a highly important and lucrative office, which he retained until his death, which occurred at his country seat near Philadelphia, on the 1st of October, 1807.

During the whole of this period, General Muhlenberg maintained an active connexion with the leading men and measures of the day. His intimacy with Jefferson, Madison, Gallatin, Monroe, (the last of whom had been a member of his military family,) and others of the leading statesmen of the Union, continued unabated, whilst in his native state, the weight of his character, his

probity and revolutionary services, caused him to be regarded as one of the first of Pennsylvania's sons. Esteemed and respected by both political parties, his opinions exerted an almost controlling influence with those of his own political principles. The Germans especially regarded him as their peculiar leader, and their weight in the state, at all times great, was then at its acme. In addition to the esteem his own services had gained, he had inherited a large portion of the regard universally felt for his late venerated father, the patriarch of the Germans in America; and whatever other faults this class of our citizens may possess, forgetfulness of those who have served them certainly cannot be ranked among their bad qualities.<sup>116</sup>

The immediate cause of his death was an affection of the liver, originating from the exposure he had endured in his southern campaigns. It was the cause of much suffering during the last year of his life, which he bore with the fortitude of a soldier until its fatal termination. He died lamented by all who knew him.

He was tall in person, very active in body, and of undaunted bravery. His coolness and determination, combined with his correct judgment, made

him one of the men on whom General Washington relied for success, and upon whom from previous personal knowledge he could depend. He was modest in regard to his own actions and claims, and always careless in asserting them. He was easy and popular in his manner, retaining throughout life the frankness of the soldier. A stern republican, he was ever on the side of the people, and unhesitating and undeviating in his opposition to all aristocratic measures.

In the language of another,<sup>117</sup> his character is thus summed up: "General Muhlenberg was one of those characters which in a revolution always find their level. He was by nature a soldier. The frolic incident of his youth indicated the turn of his mind. He entered the church, doubtless, with as sincere and honest purposes as any of her ministry, but the agony of his country called him from the altar with a voice that touched every chord of his soul. The time for fighting had come—the time to try men's souls. His whole heart was with his country; rebellion against tyrants was obedience to God, and so feeling and so thinking, he went forth from the temple to the field. He was brave and generous to a fault, a

proper brigadier to Greene, *who loved him*. Cool in danger, sound in judgment, indifferent to fame, zealous in duty : these were his distinguishing traits as a soldier. His virtues in private and political life were all cognate to these."

But two of his sons, Peter, a major in the army during the late war with Britain, and Francis, a representative in Congress from Ohio, survived him. Both are since deceased.

His remains rest quietly beside the tomb of his father, near the peaceful village church which witnessed his baptism. The following simple inscription marks the spot :

SACRED  
TO THE MEMORY OF  
GENERAL PETER MUHLENBERG,  
BORN OCT. 1ST, 1746. DIED OCT. 1ST, 1807.  
HE WAS BRAVE IN THE FIELD,  
FAITHFUL IN THE CABINET,  
HONOURABLE IN ALL HIS TRANSACTIONS,  
A SINCERE FRIEND,  
AND  
AN HONEST MAN.



## NOTES.

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(1.) THE character of the Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg has been ably treated in a number of works. As the founder of the Lutheran Church in America, his history has particularly attracted the attention of the divines of that sect. In Dr. Schmucker's History of the Religious Denominations in the United States,—“He Pasa Ecclesia,”—an excellent summary of his character, his services, and his zeal, may be found. “Der Hallische Nachrichten,” contains his own reports to the Church in Germany, which show most clearly the difficulties he encountered, and the perseverance which eventuated in his success. Other works upon the same point might be referred to, especially “Der Denkmal der Liebe, 1788,” and “The Centenary Jubilee of 1843.”

(2.) The dangers incurred by Dr. Muhlenberg in the progress of his missionary labours, are fully related by all cotemporaneous authorities. See “Hallische Nachrichten für 1757;” History of Berks County, p. 71, 439; and MS. Letters of Conrad Weiser, Department of State, Harrisburg.

(3.) The name of “Father Muhlenberg” was bestowed upon its venerable senior, by the common consent of the members of the Lutheran Church. As a token of reverence and respect, it is still unforgotten. “Cente-

nary Jubilee of 1843," p. 15; "Denkmal der Liebe, 1788," p. 51; "He Pasa Ecclesia," 384.

(4.) At this time the traces of the Swedish dominion in Pennsylvania, were still plainly visible. Many Swedish Lutheran churches still existed, among which were the one near Philadelphia, one at Morlatton, and several in Chester and Delaware Counties. As late as the year 1762, they were under the direction of the Rev. Provost Dr. Wrangel (H. M. M.'s MS. Journal for 1762), who had been sent to America from Stockholm. After his return, their want of a spiritual head gradually destroyed their organization. Some united themselves with the Church of England, but the greater number became incorporated with the German Lutheran Church.

(5.) The proceedings of this meeting are published in full in the Virginia Gazette, for August 4th, 1774, a file of which paper is preserved in the Congressional Library at Washington.

(6.) In order to invest the proceedings of the Williamsburg Convention with more authority, at the recommendation of the Committee of Safety, the delegates were chosen members of the House of Burgesses, so that the Convention was in reality the Legislature, sitting under another name. Tucker's Life of Jefferson, vol. i. p. 57.

(7.) Proceedings of the Williamsburg Convention, in the Congressional Library at Washington.

(8.) The following table, showing the organization of the Virginia line, as originally established, may not be without interest, as its compilation has been a matter of some difficulty. The first column shows the dates of



the state commissions ; the second, the date of those issued by the Continental Congress.

	State.	Continental.
1st Regt. Col. Patrick Henry, Lt. Col. William Christian, Major Frank Eppes.	{ July, 1775.	Feb. 13th, 1776.
2d Regt. Col. William Woodford, Lt. Col. Charles Scott, Major Alex. Spottswood.	{ July, 1775.	Feb. 13th, 1776.
3d Regt. Col. Hugh Mercer, Lt. Col. George Weedon, Major Thomas Marshal.	{ Dec. 1775.	Feb. 13th, 1776.
4th Regt. Col. Adam Stephen, Lt. Col. Isaac Reed, Major Robert Lawson.	{ Dec. 1775.	Feb. 13th, 1776.
5th Regt. Col. William Peachey, Lt. Col. William Crawford, Major Josiah Parker.	{ Dec. 1775.	Feb. 13th, 1776.
6th Regt. Col. Mordecai Buckner, Lt. Col. Thomas Elliott, Major James Hendricks.	{ Dec. 1775.	Feb. 13th, 1776.
7th Regt. Col. William Dangerfield, Lt. Col. Alex. M'Lanahan, Major William Nelson.	{ Dec. 1775.	Feb. 13th, 1776.
8th Regt. Col. Peter Muhlenberg, Lt. Col. Abraham Bowman, Major P. Helfenstein,	{ Dec. 1775.	Feb. 13th, 1776.
9th Regt. Col. Thomas Fleming, Lt. Col. George Matthews, Major M. Donovan.	{ Jan. 1776.	May, 1776.

(9.) The facts stated in this account of General Muhlenberg's farewell sermon are abundantly established by all cotemporaneous accounts. See particularly Thatcher's Military Journal, p. 184 ; Howe's Historical Collections of Virginia, p. 468 ; Kercheval's History of the

Valley of Virginia, p. 188 ; Rogers's Remembrancer of American Heroes, Statesmen, and Sages, p. 366 ; and Baird's Religion in America, p. 113.

It has also been frequently referred to in accounts of the services of the German citizens of the United States, most of the statements, however, containing some incorrect particulars. It was in truth a bold and gallant act, and one well worthy of remembrance by the American people.

(10.) General Lee's Letter to Colonel Muhlenberg, of April 23d, 1776, Congressional Library ; Sparks's Life of Lee, p. 118.

(11.) General Lee's Letter to Edmund Pendleton, June 1st, 1776 ; American Archives, vol. ii. ; Sparks's Life of Lee, p. 124.

(12.) General Lee's Letter to Colonel Moultrie, June 23d, 1776.

(13.) General Lee's Letter to Pendleton, June 29th, 1776 ; American Archives, vol. ii.

(14.) Everett's Life of Henry, p. 310.

(15.) The 8th Virginia regiment was generally known as the "German Regiment." By that name it is designated in the Orderly Books of Generals Washington and Muhlenberg, during the campaigns of 1777, 1778, and 1779. An account of the "German Regiment" is to be found in Kercheval's History of the Valley, p. 188. The regimental colour of this corps is still in the writer's possession. It is made of plain salmon-coloured silk, with a broad fringe of the same, having a simple white scroll in the centre, upon which are inscribed the words, "VIII Virg<sup>a</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>." The spear head is brass, conside-

rably ornamented. The banner bears the traces of warm service, and is probably the only Revolutionary flag still in existence.

(16.) General Lee's letter of June 22d, 1782.

(17.) Moultrie's Revolution in Carolina and Georgia, vol. i. pp. 184, 186.

(18.) Henry Melchior Muhlenberg's MS. Journal, under date of Jan. 5th, 1777.

(19.) Journals of Congress, vol. ii. p. 19.

(20.) Journals of Congress, vol. ii. p. 47.

(21.) Extracted from the MS. Washington Papers, in the Department of State at Washington.

(22.) Letter from Colonel Johnson, aide-de-camp to General Muhlenberg, from the MS. Washington Papers. Appendix No. 1.

(23.) This officer was General Andrew Lewis. He had been appointed a Brigadier-General, March 1st, 1776, and bore the reputation of a skilful officer. He resigned because General Stephen, who was his inferior, was on Feb. 19th, 1777, promoted over his head to the rank of major-general.

(24.) Johnson's Life of Greene, vol. i. p. 73 ; General Muhlenberg's MS. Orderly Book, for 1777.

(25.) General Muhlenberg's Orderly Book, for June 22d, 1777 ; Marshall's Life of Washington, vol. i. p. 148.

(26.) General Muhlenberg's Orderly Book, July 8th, 1777.

(27.) Extracted from the MS. Washington Papers.

(28.) General Muhlenberg's Orderly Book, for Aug. 23d, 1777.

(29.) The question of General Sullivan's negligence in omitting to secure the ford above the Forks, is still an open question. See Johnson's *Life of Greene*, vol. i. p. 75, and Peabody's *Life of Sullivan*, p. 74.

(30.) Lord Sterling's division was accidentally formed on the right of Sullivan's, and during the confusion arising from changing positions, the enemy's attack was made and succeeded. General De Borre was much blamed for commencing this change of position without orders. His brigade broke first, and upon a court of inquiry being ordered upon his conduct, he resigned and returned to France, saying that "it was not his fault that the American troops would not fight." He had behaved very gallantly, and was wounded in the attempt to rally his men; but his foreign prejudices rendered him unpopular, and his resignation was accepted.

(31.) The truth of this extraordinary march of Greene's division is established beyond a doubt. Johnson's *Life*, vol. i. p. 76; Greene's *Life*, p. 53.

(32.) *Bulletin of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, vol. i. No. 7, p. 12; Johnson's *Life of Greene*, vol. i. p. 76.

(33.) *Historical Society Bulletin*, p. 12.

(34.) Johnson's *Life of Greene*, vol. i. p. 76.

(35.) Caldwell's *Life of Greene*, p. 57; Johnson's *Life*, vol. i. p. 77; Marshall's *Washington*; *Historical Society Bulletin*, p. 12.

(36.) The anonymous author of the *Annual Register for 1777*, p. 423. This work is said to be the best and most impartial account of the American Revolution extant.

(37.) Caldwell's Life of Greene, p. 58.

(38.) Johnson's Life of Greene, vol. i. p. 77.

(39.) General Muhlenberg's Orderly Book for September 12th, 1777.

(40.) The following extracts from the German MS. Journal of H. M. Muhlenberg about this time, will no doubt prove interesting. His residence was at the Trappe, or New Providence, directly in the midst of the operations of both armies. The extracts also show the sufferings endured by the American army during this campaign.

"Thursday, September 11th, 1777.—This morning we heard hard and long-continued cannonading, which seemed to be about thirty miles off towards the Brandywine Creek.

"Friday, September 12th.—We received one message after another, that the loss of the American army was very serious, and this evening my son Fred returned from Philadelphia, with his wife and child, with the news that the British army was already near the city. In the afternoon, six wagons with a guard passed by; they conveyed the principal captive Quakers to Augusta Co., Virginia. Now, Pennsylvania, prepare to meet the Lord your God."

"Sunday, September 14th.—A restless Sabbath. No end to chaises, coaches, and wagons with fugitives. A gentleman of intelligence informed me where the British army was encamped, and supposed that a division would cross the Schuylkill near us and take the great road to Philadelphia, and that our Providence would be the scene of their march, or even the battle-field."

“Tuesday, September 16th.—This afternoon about one o’clock we heard towards the southwest, about fourteen miles from us, a sharp battle with field-pieces and small arms, in the midst of heavy rain.”

“Wednesday, September 17th.—Since yesterday, and the whole night through, the stormy rain has continued and still continues. The poor children of men in both armies are badly off, and must bear the cold wind and rain without tents or shelter, which, particularly at this period of the equinox, causes serious illness. Here am I, old and worn out, with a sick wife subject to hysterical paroxysms, have with me two daughters, two sons’ wives with two infant children, and my sons’ parents-in-law, and expect every day and hour that a British division will cross the Schuylkill and treat us without distinction, as the providence of God has ordered and will allow. We cannot well fly, for there is no place safe. Where the two armies do not reach, there are thieves, robbers, and murderers, who take advantage of the present time and condition.”

“Friday, September 19th.—In the afternoon we had news that the British troops on the other side of Schuylkill had marched down towards Providence, and with a telescope we could see their camp. In consequence of this, the American army, four miles from us, forded the Schuylkill and came upon the Philadelphia road, at the Augustus Church, but were wet breast high. His Excellency, General Washington, was with the troops who marched past here to the Perkiomen. The procession lasted the whole night, and we had all kinds of visits from officers wet to the breast, who had to march

in that condition the cold damp night through, and to bear hunger and thirst at the same time. This robs them of courage and health, and instead of prayers, we hear from most, the national evil, curses.

“Saturday, September 20.—The two armies are near together, the Americans on this side and the British on the other side of Schuylkill. Our weaker vessels have baked bread twice to-day, and distributed all the food we had to the sick and ailing. In the evening a nurse, with three English children of a fugitive family of consequence, from Philadelphia, arrived, and could get no farther, as it was night. They begged for lodging, which we granted, as good or bad as we had it. ‘Give shelter willingly,’ (Rom. xii. 13,) particularly to children, who are yet saints. There were also two negroes, servants of the English family, who wished to one another in secret that the British might be victorious, as then all negro slaves would become free; and this opinion is said to be general among all negroes in America.

“Sunday, September 21.—In the afternoon we heard that the British army was in motion, and that it was probable they would come upon the great road at our house, and attack the American army. We were advised to fly, as a battle might take place, and our house be plundered or burned. My son Henry’s wife determined to go to New Hanover, and wished us two old people to accompany her. I saw no possibility, but wished my sickly wife to go and leave me behind alone. She was not to be persuaded, but would rather live, suffer, and die with me, in Providence. At twelve o’clock at night the advance of the American army,

with many field-pieces, came past, and some of them knocked at our door, as if to break it in. Our people rose, asked them what they wanted, and were answered, 'Fire.' A German captain, however, drove them off.

"Monday, September 22.—The whole American army came back, and encamped a mile above our house, because it was said the English were crossing and coming upon the great road at our house, and the battle was to take place here. We had to-day very cold and rough winds, which, with the equinoxes and other incidents, have rendered me quite sickly. We have the whole day had calls from hungry and thirsty soldiers."

"Wednesday, September 24.—Last night we slept quietly, under the gracious protection of God. A portion of the British army is still lying about five miles from our house, and to-day the American army is coming back from New Hanover. Towards evening we saw several high rising smokes, and are informed that the British have burned the houses of many militia officers. It is supposed they will come up and attack the American avant-guard to-night.

"Thursday, September 25.—God's might and goodness has listened to our prayers and protected us. All is quiet, and the American army has not returned from New Hanover. The report is that the British soldiers behave barbarously. They yesterday hanged up an old man of seventy or eighty years of age, and when nearly dead cut him down again; to-day will have its own evils. Yesterday evening we had plenty of visitors, and to-day we had to breakfast Lord Sterling, General Wayne, their aids, and other officers. At two in the



afternoon a cold, heavy rain commenced, and continued nearly all night. The poor soldiers must suffer much, as they have no tents. Our barn was full of those seeking shelter, and the little hay which we had saved for winter was scattered and spoiled.

“Tuesday, September 30.—Since yesterday the main American army is said to have advanced on the Skip-pack Road, and to be only twenty-three miles from Philadelphia. In our vicinity the militia are stationed, which is ruin to the farms in wood, hay, straw, and grain. I can neither read nor write in these restless times, and cannot be thankful enough for the gracious goodness, protection, grace, and mercy of our Saviour, which has governed us miserable worms up to this time. My children and family are scattered one here and the other there. Mr. Kunze and his family have remained in Philadelphia.”

“Friday, October 3.—There is a report that at daylight to-morrow the British outposts at Barren Hill and Germantown will be attacked.

“Saturday, October 4.—Early in the morning we heard several field-pieces, and in the evening were told that the advanced forces of both sides had fought and been driven backwards and forwards, until two o’clock in the afternoon; that the American forces were retreating, and would again encamp in their old position. The British advance, on this side of Germantown, had planted cannon about our Lutheran church, and fired out of the windows, but were driven out at the first attack. It may easily be imagined in what condition it is. The church at Barren Hill is not likely to be better off; the one at

Reading is used as a hospital, and is full of wounded, and the one at the village of Lebanon is full of Hessian captives."

(41.) The MS. Washington Papers.

(42.) Vide maps of the battle of Germantown, in Johnson's Life of Greene, vol. i., and Sparks's Life of Washington.

(43.) In this, as in almost every other battle of the Revolutionary war, the militia proved themselves useless. Their valour seems to have confined itself to ill treatment of the inhabitants, as they generally behaved very much as though they were in an enemy's country. The following extract from Dr. Muhlenberg's MS. Journal, shows the light in which they were regarded by even the warmest Whigs; for nowhere is the same language used with regard to the Continentals:—"Saturday, Sept. 27. To-day I was requested to bury the child of one of our vestrymen. I went to the church, but found to my sorrow that a regiment of Pennsylvania militia had quartered in the church and school-house. The church was quite filled with officers and soldiers, and their arms. It was full at the organ, on which one was playing, and others singing to it; below was an abundance of straw and manure, and on the altar they had their victuals. In short, I saw in miniature the spirit of destruction in holy places. I went in, but did not think it prudent to say anything to the crowd, as they began to mock, and several called to the player of the organ to play a Hessian march. I sought Colonel Dunlap, and asked if this was the promised protection to civil and religious liberty. He excused himself by

saying that the militia was composed of men of all nations, and it was difficult to keep up strict discipline with them. The schoolmaster complained that they had destroyed his buckwheat and garden vegetables. I could not help him, as my own lot of three acres, near the church, which was full of buckwheat in blossom, and from which I had hoped a frugal supply for the winter, had twenty horses in it, wasting far more than they consumed; and if one says a word, you are called a Tory.

“Wednesday, Oct. 1.—This morning several American regiments marched off with flying colours to join the main army. There are still from 2 to 3000 men in this vicinity, mostly militia, commanded by Major-General Armstrong.

“Thursday, Oct. 2.—The remaining militia marched down the great road, as the main army is said to have advanced on the Skippack Road nearer town. It looks as if an army of locusts had been here.”

(44.) Johnson's Life of Greene, vol. i. p. 85, 86.

(45.) Johnson's Life of Greene, vol. i. p. 86.

(46.) Johnson's Life of Greene, vol. i. p. 87.

(47.) Marshall's Life of Washington, vol. i. p. 169.

(48.) Johnson's Life of Greene, vol. i. p. 87.

(49.) Hubley, Anecdotes of the Late War.

(50.) Johnson's Life of Greene, vol. i. pp. 90, 91.

(51.) MS. Washington Papers.

(52.) Related by a sister of General Muhlenberg, at that time residing with her parents.

(53.) Related by the Rev. J. W. Richards, pastor of

the Lutheran church at the Trappe, to whom it had been told by several of his oldest parishioners.

(54.) MS. Washington Papers.

(55.) General Weedon's letter to the President of Congress, dated Dec. 29, 1777. MS. in Department of State, Washington.

(56.) MS. Washington Papers.

(57.) Journals of Congress, vol. ii. p. 484.

(58.) Journals of Congress, vol. iii. p. 418.

(59.) MS. Washington Papers.

(60.) General Muhlenberg's Orderly Book for 1778.

(61.) MS. Washington Papers.

(62.) Adjutant-General Hand's MS. papers. Lancaster, Pa.

(63.) Johnson's Life of Greene, vol. i. p. 105.

(64.) The Annual Register for 1778.

(65.) General Hand's MS. papers.

(66.) General Washington's letter of Aug. 4th, 1778.

(67.) MS. Washington Papers.

(68.) MS. Washington Papers.

(69.) Thatcher's Military Journal, p. 184. This excellent work gives perhaps the best insight into the actual condition of things in the Revolutionary army that can be obtained. The author had great opportunities, of which he made good use.

(70.) Military Journal, p. 188.

(71.) MS. Washington Papers.

(72.) Lee's Memoirs of the War, p. 53.

(73.) Lee's Memoirs of the War, p. 189.

(74.) Bowen's Life of Steuben, pp. 60-67.

(75.) MS. Journal of H. M. Muhlenberg, Jan. to March, 1780.

(76.) MS. Washington Papers.

(77.) MS. Washington Papers.

(78.) Jefferson's Correspondence, vol. i. p. 191.

(79.) General Muhlenberg's Orderly Book.

(80.) Extracted from the Gates Papers, in the MS. collections of the New York Historical Society.

(81.) General Muhlenberg's Orderly Book, Nov. 17, 1780.

(82.) Jefferson's Correspondence, vol. i. p. 194.

(83.) Johnson's Life of Greene, vol. i. p. 331.

(84.) Extracted from the Steuben Papers, in the MS. collections of the New York Historical Society.

(85.) Bowen's Life of Steuben, p. 58.

(86.) Johnson's Life of Greene, vol. i. p. 437; Greene's MS. papers, in the possession of P. M. Nightingale, Esq., Ga.

(87.) Johnson's Life of Greene, vol. i. p. 437.

(88.) Johnson's Life of Greene, vol. i. p. 438.

(89.) This officer was a Captain North. Johnson says, p. 438, "We do not find that Captain North ever incurred the censure which this act merited; but it was impossible to justify it."

(90.) MS. Steuben Papers.

(91.) See Appendix, Nos. 37-40.

(92.) Simcoe's Military Journal, p. 181.

(93.) Correspondence of Lafayette, edited by his son, vol. i. Appendix.

(94.) General Muhlenberg's Orderly Book for 1781.

(95.) General Hand's MS. papers.

(96.) See General Greene's letter—Arnold's report—Simcoe's Military Journal.

(97.) Jefferson's Correspondence, vol. i. p. 219.

(98.) MS. Steuben Papers, N. Y. Historical Society.

(99.) MS. Washington Papers; Memoir of Lafayette, vol. i. p. 513.

(100.) Memoir of Lafayette, by his son, vol. i. p. 524; Lee's Memoir of the War, p. 299; Tarleton's Campaigns, p. 300, 347.

(101.) Memoir of Lafayette, vol. i. p. 526.

(102.) The Bland Papers, vol. ii. p. 71. Colonel Febiger, the author of this letter, was one of the best officers in the Virginia line. During all the southern campaigns, he was under the immediate command of General Muhlenberg; and his papers, as well as those of General Greene and Baron Steuben, bear abundant testimony to his merits as a gallant and accomplished officer.

(103.) From the MS. papers of General Greene. This important letter has been hitherto unpublished.

(104.) Memoir of Lafayette, vol. i. p. 443.

(105.) In Trumbull's painting of the capitulation of Yorktown, in the rotunda of the Capitol, General Muhlenberg's is the second figure from the left, and is said to be an excellent likeness.

(106.) General Hand's MS. papers.

(107.) General Greene's MS. papers.

(108.) Proceedings of court-martial at Winchester, Washington Papers.

(109.) General Muhlenberg was promoted to the rank of major-general, Sept. 30, 1783. Journals of Congress,

vol. iv. p. 281. The resolution directed that brevet commissions be issued to all the brigadier-generals and colonels "who hold the same commission now they held in the year 1777." The following generals were promoted. 1, James Clinton, of N. Y.; 2, John Patterson, of Mass.; 3, Anthony Wayne, of Pa.; 4, Peter Muhlenberg, of Va.; 5, George Clinton, of N. Y.; 6, Edward Hand, of Pa.; 7, Jedediah Huntington, of Conn.; 8, John Stark, of N. H.

(110.) Major Ludeman was a foreign officer of great merit. In 1780, he first became attached to General Muhlenberg's staff, and served with the utmost distinction until the close of the war. His application was successful, and General Muhlenberg's papers show many other instances of the pains he took to assist the officers who had served under his command.

(111.) It is amusing to observe the form and ceremony, the official pomp, which was attempted to be cast around the first officers of the national government. The Gazette of the United States mentions that the Speaker was escorted into the city by a body of cavalry and a procession of citizens, and that on New Year's day both houses of Congress in a body waited upon the Vice-President and Speaker, to present their congratulations. The Speaker's card merely bore his title without his name, as in England, and in many other points the ceremonial established in that country was studiously observed.

(112.) Journals of the first Congress.

(113.) Marshall's Life of Washington, vol. ii. p. 435.

(114.) From the pen of the Hon. J. Pringle Jones. Democratic Review, vol. xvi. p. 70.

(115.) Jefferson's Correspondence, vol. iii. p. 452.

(116.) This was evidenced by General Muhlenberg's connexion with the German Society. In 1783, he was elected a member of that body, and for many years annually re-elected its president, holding that position at the time of his decease. Almost during the whole existence of the Society, his father, his brother, or himself, had been its presiding officer.

(117.) Democratic Review, vol. xvi. p. 70.



## APPENDIX.

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### No. 1.

Head-quarters, Morristown, 9th March, 1777.

SIR,—

I am commanded by his Excellency to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of the 23d ult., by Mr. Swain.

In addition to his letter of — inst., which I hope has reached you ere this, he desires that you will use your utmost industry and diligence in collecting together all the parts of the Virginia Continental battalions within your reach, and send them off to Philadelphia as they assemble, where they will receive orders from the commanding officer stationed in that city. We have already wrote to Colonel Morgan on this subject, and Mr. Swain has orders similar to Colonel Wood. These being immediately under your eye you can despatch. Let a sufficient number of proper officers from each battalion be left behind for the purpose of recruiting, with orders to follow as soon as any of them has completed the quota allotted to him.

Much, very much indeed depends upon our being reinforced immediately; the least tardiness in the recruiting officers must produce effects which they may repent. With respect to the eighth battalion, I am

desired to inform you that his Excellency wishes you would nominate ten ensigns, to whom he will give commissions immediately on the regiment joining the army, provided they are such gentlemen as will not disgrace the appointment and commission. This, however, he does not suspect, convinced that you will not take into service any person whom his Excellency can with propriety discharge.

Congress having confirmed Major Campbell in his office, leaves his Excellency no power to remove him but for the commission of some offence. You will apply to Captain Stephenson to raise his company. Till he determines, his Excellency inclines not to interfere.

Upon your recommendation of Mr. Swain, his Excellency has given him powers to raise a company of foot, and to appoint his subalterns. This company will be assigned to the eighth, if Captain Stephenson inclines to leave the service; if not, Mr. Swain will serve in some one of the sixteen additional.

His Excellency, satisfied with the justice of your observation about rifles, has determined to have as few used as possible. He will put muskets into the hands of all those battalions that are not very well acquainted with rifles.

To conclude, his Excellency expects to see you here in a few days, there being at present not a sufficient number of general officers with the army.

I am, sir, yours, &c.,

G. JOHNSTON,

Aide-de-camp.

To Brig. Gen. Peter Muhlenberg,

Virginia.

## No. 2.

Head-quarters, Morristown, 27th April, 1777.

SIR,—

I am well convinced that the amazing desertions which have of late prevailed among our troops, proceed entirely from their not being regularly paid. For it is not to be supposed that the bare encouragement of receiving a few dollars from the enemy for their arms could operate so forcibly upon them.

I have in vain endeavoured to make the officers bring in their pay-rolls and draw their money; they plead in excuse that they are so detached, they cannot possibly make up regular rolls, and there may be something in this. But there is a cause which, I fear, will be found upon examination too true, and that is, that the officers have drawn large sums under pretence of paying their men, but have been obliged from extravagance, and for other purposes, to appropriate this money to their own use. There is a necessity at this time for the men's being paid up as nearly as possible. I therefore desire that you will have the different corps under your command paraded, inquire of them what pay is due to them, order the paymaster or commanding officer to draw as much as will be necessary, and when it is drawn, see that the soldiers have their proportion.

It would be well to let the soldiers know that this irregularity of pay has been owing to the hurry in which they have been detached into the field, but that their wants shall be fully supplied.

I also desire that you will inform the officers that as soon as the regiments are drawn together, I shall cause an exact scrutiny to be made into their accounts, and inquire how these complaints of the soldiers arise for want of pay, when large sums have been advanced for that purpose.

I am, sir, &c.,

G. WASHINGTON.

To Brig. Gen. Muhlenberg.

No. 3.

(Brigadier-General Peter Muhlenberg's oath of allegiance to the United States of America.)

I, Peter Muhlenberg, Brigadier-General, do acknowledge the United States of America to be free, independent, and sovereign States, and declare that the people thereof owe no allegiance or obedience to George the Third, King of Great Britain; and I renounce, refuse, and abjure, any allegiance or obedience to him; and I do swear that I will, to the utmost of my power, support, maintain, and defend, the said United States against the said King George the Third, his heirs and successors, and his or their abettors, assistants, and adherents, and will serve the said United States in the office of Brigadier-General, which I now hold, with fidelity, according to the best of my skill and understanding.

P. MUHLENBERG, B. G.

Sworn before me at Camp,

May 12th, 1778.

G. WASHINGTON.

## No. 4.

June 18th, 1778.

SIR,—

I have enclosed the arrangement of the officers of the 1st, 5th, and 9th Virginia regiments; if it meets with his Excellency's approbation I would wish to put it into execution immediately, as it would be needless to take the supernumerary officers with us on the march, while they may be better employed in the recruiting business in Virginia. If his Excellency approves the arrangement, Lt. Col. Ballard will wait on him for orders for the whole of those officers going into Virginia, as Lt. Col. Ballard will superintend the recruiting business for my brigade.

I should likewise wish to know whether it is his Excellency's desire I should make the arrangement in General Weedon's brigade.

I am, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

P. MUHLENBERG.

To Col. Harrison.

## No. 5.

Head-quarters, Valley Forge, June 18th, 1778.

DEAR SIR,—

Colonel Harrison communicated yours of this date to me, with the temporary arrangement of the 1st, 5th, and 9th Virginia regiments.

The plan is agreeable to me, and if the same mode can be pursued in General Weedon's brigade, I shall be exceedingly glad to have it adopted.

Nothing will conduce more to filling the regiments than having a number of officers to receive the drafts as they are made, and forwarding them immediately to camp. Orders will be made out for Colonel Ballard whenever he calls for them.

I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

To Brig. Gen. Muhlenberg.

#### No. 6.

(July 22d, 1778. The formation of brigades of the main army, extracted from the Hand MS. Papers.)

- |                            |                        |
|----------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. <i>North Carolina.</i>  | 4. <i>Gen. Scott.</i>  |
| Col. Clarke.               | Col. Wood.             |
| “ Patton.                  | “ Greene, } united.    |
| 2. <i>Gen. Woodford.</i>   | “ Gibson, }            |
| Col. Heth.                 | “ Hall, (Delaware.)    |
| “ Cropper.                 | “ Grayson.             |
| “ Mason.                   |                        |
| “ Febiger.                 | 5. <i>Gen. Glover.</i> |
| 3. <i>Gen. Muhlenberg.</i> | Col. Sheppard.         |
| Col. Parker.               | “ Wigglesworth.        |
| “ Daviess.                 | “ Bigelow.             |
| “ George Gibson.           | “ Vosè.                |
| “ Smith.                   |                        |

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 6. <i>Gen. Patterson.</i><br>Col. Brewer.<br>" Marshall.<br>" Bradford.<br>" Tupper.            | 12. <i>Gen. Nixon.</i><br>Col. Groaton.<br>" Nixon.<br>" Putnam.<br>" Wood, (Militia.)       |
| 7. <i>Late Learned.</i><br>Col. Bailey.<br>" Jackson.<br>" Wesson.<br>" Mead, (Militia.)        | 13. <i>Gen. Wayne.</i><br>Col. Chambers.<br>" Stewart.<br>" Irvine.<br>" Humpton.            |
| 8. <i>Gen. Poor.</i><br>Col. Cilley.<br>" Hall.<br>" Scammel.<br>" Hazen.                       | 14. <i>Second Pennsylvania.</i><br>Col. Craige.<br>" Johnson.<br>" Magaw.<br>" R. Butler.    |
| 9. <i>Gen. Smallwood.</i><br>Col. Stone.<br>" Gist.<br>" Richardson.<br>" Gunby.                | 15. <i>Gen. Clinton.</i><br>Col. Van Schaick.<br>" Courtlandt.<br>" Livingston.<br>" Dubois. |
| 10. <i>Second Maryland.</i><br>Col. Price.<br>" Hall.<br>" Williams.<br>German Battalion.       | 16. <i>Gen. Parsons.</i><br>Col. Meiggs.<br>" Wyllys.<br>" Durkee.<br>" Chandler.            |
| 11. <i>General Varnum.</i><br>Col. Angell.<br>" Sherburne.<br>" S. B. Webb.<br>" J. Livingston. | 17. <i>Gen. Huntington.</i><br>Col. Prentice.<br>" C. Webb.<br>" Bradley.<br>" Swift.        |

No. 7.

Williamsburg, Sept. 6th, 1778.

DEAR SIR,—

I received your favour last night by Mr. Brown. I am pleased at this instance of your confidence and

friendship, on which I place a high value. The matter you represent reaches my feelings in the most affecting manner. You have served us on the most distressing terms hitherto, and it is not in the power of any country fully to compensate for the painful duty to which you have been exposed. But I trust the principles of common justice will so far prevail with our Assembly as to give a preference to our officers and soldiers in the western lands, if they do nothing in a pecuniary way. God forbid that the defenders and saviours of America should want any of the good things she possesses. You may rest assured I shall exert myself to secure you some good land. I will represent the whole case to the next Assembly, which meets in four weeks. I will enforce it as far as decency will permit, and the result you shall know from me. I shall endeavour to show the great hardships upon the gentlemen of the army, if any land is granted until they have their choice, and if that avails not, I will secure some small share at least for you. Perhaps it may be proper to hint to your brother officers the substance of this. I mean no more than that their desires or any propositions they wish to make shall be zealously supported with my best endeavours. But I leave you to act as you please about it.

If the Assembly will open a land office (which I think they ought to do, and sell the land to sink our paper money), a reservation of a tract of country about the Falls of Ohio might be made to answer the purpose I wish for the officers and soldiers. However, if after all nothing can be done for you as an officer, I will secure some for you as a private man, if the office opens. In



this I shall count myself happy if I can serve one for whose character both in private and public I have the most sincere esteem.

Let me take the liberty just to hint, that I think a resignation now might defeat a claim which otherwise I trust will be approved by every one. I shall be much obliged to you for your continued correspondence, which will be highly acceptable to me. Adieu, my dear sir, may God preserve you. I am with the highest regard, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

P. HENRY.

N. B. Excuse inaccuracy, as I am much hurried.

To Brig. Gen. Muhlenberg,

At Head-quarters.

No. 8.

Head-quarters, Fredericksburg, Nov. 2d, 1778.

DEAR SIR,—

The departure of General Gates makes it expedient to send forward another officer to his command. For this purpose I have ordered General Putnam to Hartford. The General will communicate to you such of his instructions as respect the division, or any other information which may be necessary for your government.

I am, dear sir,

Your most humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

To Brig. Gen. Muhlenberg,

Highlands.

## No. 9.

Elizabethtown, Dec. 4th, 1778, 10 o'clock, P. M.

DEAR SIR,—

I request that you will halt the Virginia troops wherever this finds you, if the ground and wood will admit of it; if it will not, I had rather you would countermarch them to the first convenient situation. You will collect the troops and hold them in compact order, taking care to have them well supplied with provision and ammunition, and ready to move on the earliest order. You will continue all the heavy baggage on its march, and only retain what will be barely necessary for the men, and which they can carry. I don't mean that the artillery or ammunition wagons should be separated from the brigades.

I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

To Brig. Gen. Muhlenberg.

P. S. I have just received authentic intelligence that the enemy have several ships moving up the North River with troops and flat-bottomed boats.

## No. 10.

Paramus, Dec. 6th, 1778.

DEAR SIR,—

You will be pleased upon receipt of this letter, imme-

diately to put the troops under your command in motion, with their field artillery and ammunition, for Sufferns, at the mouth of Smith's Clove, and there wait further orders.

You will divest yourself of your baggage, which is to be ordered on to the place appointed for winter quarters. You may bring a few tents in some of the strongest wagons, to serve in case of very bad weather for the security of the arms, but you are not to encumber yourself with many, but to travel as light in every respect as possible.

I imagine you will find the route by the great falls to be the best; however, you will make the necessary inquiry of those who know the country.

I am, sir, &c.,

G. WASHINGTON.

To Brig. Gen. Muhlenberg.

P. S. March only such men as are fit for service; let the invalids proceed with the baggage: you will also despatch an express to Middlebrook, for the commissary-general and forage-master-general to come on to Sufferns.

No. 11.

Head-quarters, February 17th, 1779.

SIR,—

Enclosed is a copy of the Virginia arrangement, as transmitted to me by the Board of War, for a final revision before the commissions are issued. I therefore desire you to assemble the field officers of the Virginia

line, and with them inspect the arrangement carefully, that if there should be any mistakes or misdates, they may be reported to me, that I may endeavour to have them adjusted, and the lists returned complete to the Board of War. Be pleased to mark those who have resigned with the dates of resignation. There are a few dates not yet filled up, which you will ascertain, if possible. Be pleased to acquaint the officers of your whole line that, after the commissions are issued, there will be no future appeal, and therefore desire them, if they have any objections or claims, to make or bring them in now.

Be pleased to direct returns to be made to me regimentally, of the officers absent on command or furlough, specifying the time when their furloughs will expire, and the counties in which they may most probably be found.

Governor Henry writes me that a number of officers will be wanted to collect and march the recruits from Virginia, and therefore some of those now absent may be ordered to remain for that purpose.

I am, &c.,

G. WASHINGTON.

To Brig. Gen. Muhlenberg.

No. 12.

Fort Montgomery, July 15th, 1779.

SIR,—

This day General Wayne marched down towards Stony Point, to take a view of the enemy, and if an opportunity offered, to attempt something serious.

I therefore wish you to put your brigade in motion about midnight, and march that way, in order to act as his situation may make it necessary. You will make your movements as secret as possible, and march perfectly light, taking such of your guards as may be in your route with you. One day's provision will be necessary for the men to have with them; and the rest that may be at the post, you will have in readiness to follow, should circumstances require it.

You shall hear from me when to return, unless the enterprise should prove unsuccessful, in which case you will return to your present post.

I am, sir, yours, &c.,

G. WASHINGTON.

To Brig. Gen. Muhlenberg.

No. 13.

Head-quarters, August 28th, 1779.

GENTLEMEN,—

I have received your favour of the 26th, with the papers accompanying it. I assure you the manner in which the Virginia division have taken up the affair, gives me the most sensible concern.

I had no idea that the command given to Major Lee could have been considered by them as a violation of their rights; nor can I, after the most deliberate reflection, find any reason to alter the opinion I first entertained, which was that Major Lee, on principles of justice, prudence, and the strictest military propriety, was entitled

to the command. I have discussed the point fully in a letter to Major-General Lord Sterling, which I have requested him to communicate to the gentlemen interested.

You will perceive that, while these are my sentiments, I can give no assurances which will operate against the principle of employing officers in Major Lee's circumstances in a similar manner. So far as a senior officer fell under his command, the affair was unfortunate; but this was evidently a mistake in the first instance, and if the gentlemen have any apprehension that this may be drawn into precedent, (which I can hardly suppose,) I do not scruple to give them the most positive assurances to the contrary, for I deem it an invariable principle that no inferior or junior officer can command a superior or senior.

I flatter myself, gentlemen, you will dispassionately weigh the reasonings I have offered, and, convinced that they are well founded, will use your influence to appease the discontents which have arisen, and satisfy the officers in general that no injury has been either intended or done to their privileges.

I am, with the greatest esteem and regard, gentlemen,

Your most obedient servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

To Brig. Gens. Woodford

and Muhlenberg.

No. 14.

Fredericksburg, July 4th, 1780.

SIR,—

I was yesterday honoured with a letter from his Excel-

lency the Governor, wherein he desires me to transmit your Excellency a return of the officers of the Virginia line at present in the state. I now do myself the honour to enclose a return of all the officers I could get intelligence of, with their rank and date of commission.

General Gates this morning left town for Richmond, and has ordered all the officers to meet at this place on the 15th of this month.

The plan I did myself the honour to mention to your Excellency in my last, proposed by a committee of the Assembly, to fill up the Continental battalions, is not yet finally determined on, but I have no doubt it will go through.

A British fleet is at present in our bay, but we have not yet been able to ascertain their strength or destination.

I have the honour to be, with great respect,  
Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,  
P. MUHLENBERG.

His Excellency Gen. Washington,  
New Jersey.

No. 15.

Hillsborough, 21st July, 1780.

SIR,—

The declining state of the regular force in this department, has induced me to hasten the march of the scattered remains of your line.

I hope much from the industry of the officers appointed to collect them, and can foresee but few obstacles in their

immediate preparation for coming forward. In the article of clothing, hunting-shirts, over-alls, and shoes, will be sufficient. There's little else wanted in this climate, and all woollen clothes I should consider as incumbrances.

To Buford's, Gibson's, and Brent's regiments, you will attach such soldiers as may belong to the several corps taken in Charleston, and placing the whole, (which I suppose will not exceed one full regiment,) under the eldest officers in each rank, order them to proceed immediately to the head-quarters of the Southern department.

I am, sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

HORATIO GATES.

To Brig. Gen. Muhlenberg.

No. 16.

Fredericksburg, August 1st, 1780.

SIR,—

By this day's post I was honoured with your Excellency's letter of the 18th of July, and likewise with another directed to Major-General Gates, enclosing the arrangement of the Virginia line. As General Gates has left this state and joined the Southern army, I took the liberty to open the letter, agreeably to the directions on the outside, and after taking a copy of the arrangement, forwarded it on.

The House of Assembly, after long debates, at last came to a resolution to raise 3,000 men for eighteen months. The bill was not printed a few days ago, but



I expect it this evening by an express I sent for that purpose. The officers, by order of General Gates, assembled at this place on the 14th of last month, in order to assist in collecting the new levies; but after consulting with the Governor and Council at Richmond, he wrote me that nothing could be done until the Governor received an answer to his letter from your Excellency. As this obstacle is now removed, I hope nothing else will retard the collection of the new levies. \* \* \*

Inclosed I do myself the honour to transmit your Excellency an exact return of the officers now in the state. By the last accounts we have from the southward, the enemy are falling back to Charlestown. I would likewise beg leave to inform your Excellency, that a great number of our privates taken at Charlestown have made their escape from the enemy (not less I am informed than two hundred). These men, though most of them soldiers for the war, are permitted to return to their homes, and look upon themselves as free from the service; some of them have been detained at this post, until I shall receive your Excellency's orders what is to be done with them.

The prisoners taken by the enemy in the action with Col. Buford, have nearly all returned with paroles, signed by Colonel Tarleton.

I have the honour to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient

Humble servant,

P. MUHLENBERG.

His Excellency General Washington,

New Jersey.

## No. 17.

Head-quarters, Orangetown, 15th August, 1780.

SIR,—

I have received your favour of the 1st instant, enclosing a more exact return of the officers remaining in Virginia than had been before transmitted. Such of them as were not noticed in the arrangement transmitted on the 8th of July may be now introduced, upon the same principles which govern in making that arrangement.

His Excellency Governor Jefferson, in a letter of the 22d of July, has mentioned the circumstance of the two state regiments which have complete corps of officers, but very few men; and has proposed that, as they are also to go to the southward, they shall have a proportion of the three thousand recruits. To this, as I could see no reasonable objection, I have assented.

I am glad to hear that so great a number of our prisoners have escaped from Charlestown, but it will be no advantage to the public, more than saving the exchange of so many, if the plea of their being freed from their former engagements is allowed. There can be no possible foundation for any such claim, and I beg you will take the most effectual measures for informing them that they will, if apprehended, be treated as deserters, if they do not return in some given time.

I have by this conveyance forwarded a proclamation to the Governor, offering a pardon to deserters who will come in by a limited time, and taking in the case of those

who have made their escape from the enemy and gone home.

I am, &c.,

G. WASHINGTON.

To Brig. General Muhlenberg,  
In Virginia.

No. 18.

Richmond, August 19th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,—

Immediately after the receipt of your letter, dated July 21st, which came to my hands the 3d of August, I removed to this place, in order to execute your orders relative to the old soldiers assembled at Chesterfield; but notwithstanding our utmost exertions, we have not been able to procure blankets and knapsacks for them. There is now a certain prospect of their being supplied immediately, and I expect them to march on the 25th. Colonel Bufort will command about three hundred old soldiers, besides eighty belonging to Gibson's regiment, which is the whole of that regiment at present fit for duty.

The new levies begin to assemble, but the prospect for their equipment is very dull. No stores have arrived from the North, nor can I hear of any, except the arms and ammunition I had the honour to mention in my last. I have prevailed on Colonel Febiger to take a journey to

Philadelphia, to hasten on the supplies, for without them the collection of the new troops would be useless.

I have the honour to be,

With great respect, dear General,

Your most obedient humble servant,

P. MUHLENBERG.

To Major-General Gates.

No. 19.

Petersburg, August 27th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,—

Colonel Bufort marches to-day with the detachment from this place; the whole will amount only to three hundred men. Another detachment will march in six or seven days, under the command of Colonel Webb. I beg leave to represent to you, sir, that in Colonel Bufort's detachment there are sixty men belonging to Colonel Gibson's regiment, one of the state regiments. They are officered by officers of the same regiment, and Major Lee is of the same. These officers are at present in a peculiar situation with regard to their rank. The regiments have been offered by the state to Congress, who have agreed to receive them in the Continental establishment, if the regiments are filled up, or as far as the men are proportioned to the officers. Now, as these gentlemen are ordered on, it would be a hardship if they should not be permitted to rank agreeably to their commissions, especially as they have now been three years in active service. I have promised them to represent

the matter to you; and have the honour to be, with great respect, dear General,

Your obedient humble servant,

P. MUHLENBERG.

To Major-General Gates.

No. 20.

Hillsboro', Sept. 2d, 1780.

GENL. MUHLENBERG,—

Your favours of the 19th and 29th ult. I received yesterday. I entirely approve of the measure you have taken in sending Colonel Febiger to Philadelphia. I hope his success in procuring necessaries for the new levies will supply the wants of them, and that no time will be lost in forwarding them to Virginia. The two thousand stand of arms which you wish to retain, I desire may be retained, to arm the new levies, and I request the remainder may be forwarded on to this place with all possible despatch, and also all other necessary stores which may be ready in Virginia.

I shall be glad to be informed whether a quantity of shoes can be procured in Virginia; they are much wanted for the Maryland line, all the men of which are quite barefoot, and sorely cut in the feet. There will be of these between six and seven hundred to be equipped, with some wanting arms and accoutrements, and all of them wanting clothes. I am in expectation of procuring some clothing in this state, but whether I shall obtain a sufficiency or not, I cannot tell. In full confidence of

your best exertions in the business you have on hand, I remain, with sentiments of perfect esteem and regard, dear General,

Your most obedient humble servant,

HORATIO GATES.

To B. General Muhlenberg.

No. 21.

Richmond, September 29th, 1780.

SIR,—

Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Campbell, who has been two campaigns with the 9th regiment at Fort Pitt, requests me to make application to your Excellency for permission to exchange with Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Taylor, who is at present arranged to the 11th regiment, but wishes to exchange it for the 9th. As your Excellency is perfectly acquainted with the character of both the gentlemen, I will only beg leave to say that by the exchange the different genius of both would be suited, and the service benefited.

The new levies of the lower counties are nearly collected, and are forming into battalions, but we are as yet totally destitute of every article necessary to equip them for the field. The levies from the upper counties are, by order of the Governor and Council, to march by the nearest road to Hillsborough. There are about three hundred men still remaining, who were formerly draughted for twelve months, but never called into service. As these have not been arranged by your Excellency, the Governor wishes they may be allotted

to Colonel Harrison's regiment of artillery, and orders have been accordingly sent to the officers appointed to collect them to march them to Chesterfield Court-house for that purpose.

I have the honour to be, with great respect,  
Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

P. MUHLENBERG.

His Excellency General Washington.

No. 22.

Richmond, Oct. 5, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,—

I was this morning honoured with your favour of the 10th, by express. By Major Polk, who left this place four days ago, I did myself the honour to represent our present situation to you, relative to clothing and military stores. Nothing is yet arrived from the northward, though Colonel Febiger informs me that he has procured shoes, some blankets and good tents, but had not been able at that time to get clothing and arms.

The eighteen months' men collected at Winchester, Staunton, Pittsylvania, and Brunswick, were by an express order of the Governor and Council, contrary to my advice, ordered to march to Hillsborough by the nearest route. I sent on yesterday, for their use, 292 muskets and bayonets, 559 cartridge boxes, 4 boxes of flints, and 299 pairs of shoes. They are intended to form the sixth regiment, and will be joined by their field officers in a few days; and whatever necessaries I can procure, shall

be forwarded on immediately. The second regiment will march from Chesterfield on Tuesday next, badly provided, but I am afraid better than we shall be able to furnish the next.

I have the honour to be, dear General,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

P. MUHLENBERG.

To Major-General Gates.

No. 23.

Richmond, Oct. 12th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,—

Two days ago, I was honoured with your favour of the 24th of September, in answer to which I now do myself the honour to inform you that I have about 1000 men collected at Chesterfield Court-house; but notwithstanding our exertions, we have not been able to procure such articles as are essentially necessary for the troops on their march. Blankets are totally out of the question, but we have procured materials for one hundred tents, and all the workmen we could collect are employed in making them. I have ordered the second regiment to hold themselves in readiness to march on Monday next; and the seventh will be ready to follow in a few days. I should have sent on the troops before this, but cannot think they will be able to render any real service in their present naked condition. If they are to go on without waiting for the most necessary articles, I shall be happy to receive your orders for that purpose.



The new levies from Winchester, Staunton, Pittsylvania, and Brunswick, who are to compose the sixth regiment, are by an express order of the Governor and Council, to march by the nearest route to Hillsborough. I am now pressing wagons, to send on arms and shoes for them, before the regiment arrives at Hillsborough.

I have the honour to be,  
With great respect, dear General,  
Your most obedient, humble servant,  
P. MUHLENBERG.

To General Gates.

No. 24.

Head-quarters, near Passaic Falls,  
17th October, 1780.

SIR,—

I have received your favour of the 29th ultimo. The proposed exchange of stations between Colonels Campbell and Taylor, will be perfectly agreeable to me.

While I hear with pleasure of the forwardness of the collection of the levies, I cannot but regret the small prospect we have of procuring an adequate supply of arms, clothing, and other necessities. We have been hitherto disappointed in the arrival of those articles expected from France; and even should they arrive after this, it will be very long before they can be got to you, from the difficulties which we experience in transporta-

tion, and more especially should they come to the eastward, which is the most probable.

His Excellency the Governor informed me that three hundred of the old drafts had been ordered to join Harrison's regiment of artillery, which was a very proper measure.

I am, &c.,  
G. WASHINGTON.

To Brig. Gen. Muhlenberg,  
in Virginia.

No. 25.

Baker's House, Nov. 19th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,—

Last evening I had the pleasure to hear of your safe arrival in Virginia, and flatter myself that, if the enemy continue much longer with us, you will honour the troops in this quarter with a visit. From present appearances, I am inclined to think that the enemy are preparing to seek their fortune elsewhere. Several signal guns were fired last evening, from which I conjecture they have made a move; but as the morning is hazy, I have not been able to ascertain the matter.

I am totally at a loss to account for their leaving Portsmouth with so much precipitation. They have not only left the greater part of the negroes they had taken, but also several valuable new vessels. Should they go out of the bay, I shall do myself the honour to give you

immediate notice. I understand Baron Steuben is with you ; will you please present my compliments to him ?

I am, dear General, with great respect,

Your most obedient servant,

P. MUILENBERG.

To Major-General Greene.

P.S. Colonel ———, who will have the honour to present you this, will give you a circumstantial account of my situation.

No. 26.

Surry Court-house, Nov. 26th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,—

I had the honour to receive your favour of the 23d yesterday, on our march from Nelson's to this place. The troops will march again this morning for Cabin Point, where I shall wait your further orders. The enemy have entirely left our bay, and are gone to sea ; report says they are gone to New York, but I think it more probable they are gone to Cape Fear.

You were pleased to mention that, "if the enemy should retire, the troops must remain below." I am at a loss to know whether you intended the militia should remain likewise. If the last was intended, I really can see no method to supply them with provisions ; for since the invasion, we have been obliged to collect what provisions were necessary, and live from hand to mouth. All the beeves within twenty miles of Cabin Point will not feed 3,000 men for three days.

If the regulars with me are to march to the southward immediately, I would beg leave to mention that they have been, and still are without tents, and are justly entitled to an equal proportion with Colonel Lawson's corps. Besides, there are 500 men sent on to Hillsborough, who have not a single tent, and are obliged to do daily duty. I have requested General Weedon to wait on you immediately at Richmond, and shall do myself the pleasure to attend you, the moment I can get three days' provisions beforehand. The returns shall be made out as soon as we halt to-day. Major Jones, who waits on you with this letter, can state our present situation.

I have the honour to be,  
With great respect, dear General,  
Your most obedient servant,

P. MUHLENBERG.

To Major-General the Baron de Steuben.

No. 27.

Williamsburg, 2d Jan., 1781.

GENERAL MUHLENBERG,—

As the enemy may yet attempt something against Fredericksburg, especially when they have drawn all our force this way, I would have all the militia of the counties adjacent to that place left at home, that in case anything of that kind should happen, they may be at hand to make the necessary opposition.

I have also directed General Weedon to remain there

for the same purpose. With the rest of the militia, you will proceed on to this place as speedily as possible.

I am, dear General, &c.,

STEUBEN.

To General Muhlenberg.

No. 28.

Cabin Point, January 31st, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,—

Last evening I received an express from General Lawson, with a return of the troops under his command, by which it appears that the number of his effectives is 654—the total 830; but I am apt to think the troops at Suffolk are not included, as nothing is mentioned of Major Willis, who commands the light infantry. The riflemen will get to General Lawson's camp to-day. The enemy keep no advanced post from Portsmouth, except a picket at Veule's, which is in sight of the town. It is reported that the enemy last week made an attempt on the northwest bridge, occupied by General Gregory, and were repulsed. I have not received a return of Colonel Parker's strength; General Lawson rates them at 500.

General Lawson complains heavily of the wretched situation of the sick in his camp, who are without medicine, physicians, and necessaries. We are here in the same situation, and no other alternative is left us than to disperse the sick in the neighbouring houses. General Lawson would have crected huts to shelter his men, but

finds it impossible, for want of axes. I have written pressing to Petersburg for a supply, but am afraid it will prove but a scanty one.

Captain Pendleton has been supplied with wagons, agreeably to your directions. We have likewise two smith-shops, where some of our men are at work in repairing and cleaning the arms, in order to render them fit for service. Four of Colonel Armand's cavalry were this morning ordered to Sandy Point and Hudson's Ordinary, agreeably to your orders.

I have the honour to be,

With great respect, dear General,

Your most obedient servant,

P. MUHLENBERG.

To Major-General the Baron de Steuben.

No. 29.

McKie's Mill, February 9th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,—

I arrived in camp to-day, at eleven o'clock; at twelve the feu-de-joie was fired agreeably to your orders. This evening several expresses came in from the outposts; every account agrees that fifteen of the enemy's vessels went out of Elizabeth River yesterday, and none this morning; but what course they have steered we cannot tell. An express from Mr. Constable informs me that the enemy have sent four hundred men from Portsmouth, who have taken post in the edge of the Dismal, on the road leading from Suffolk to Portsmouth. I cannot

conceive what their intentions are, unless the march of the troops from Cabin Point to this place has alarmed them, and caused them to think we meditated an attack on Portsmouth. Accounts likewise came in that the enemy have destroyed all the works at the Great Bridge, and abandoned that post. As they have called in all their outposts, I am apt to believe Arnold is planning some scheme to act on the offensive. I shall tomorrow view the ground at Scott's, and make every preparation to receive Arnold, should he incline to attack us. Should they make any serious movement, I shall immediately transmit you an account.

I am, dear General,

With great respect,

Your most obedient servant,

P. MUHLENBERG.

To Major-General Baron Steuben.

No. 30.

Chesterfield C. H., 18th February, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,—

The arrival of the French vessels below has occasioned some little alteration in our plans. General Nelson being gone on board, will oblige you to remain some time longer at your present station.

The field officers of the line of Virginia are making out the arrangement. When it is completed it shall be submitted to the inspection of the officers; if all are satisfied, it can be finally decided on; if any objections arise,

I intend yourself, General Weedon, with one or two of the eldest colonels, shall examine and decide on them.

I enclose you the Governor's answer to the proposition for exchanging Colonel Elligood.

The enclosed letter to Colonel Simcoe you will send in with the prisoners who go down to-day. You will have the affair of Curley inquired into; if it is determined he is a deserter from us, he must certainly be kept—if not, send him in.

Our late intelligence from the southward is unfavourable. The last accounts are that Lord Cornwallis was on the Roanoke on the 14th inst. This is only report. General Greene's last letter, of the 10th, was from Guilford Court-house; Cornwallis had then crossed the Shallow Ford. The militia of the frontier are ordered out.

I have sent General Weedon to Fredericksburg to form two regiments of militia, for the protection of a battery I have ordered on York River, to cover the French vessels in case of need.

I am, dear General,

Your very obedient servant,

STEUBEN.

General Muhlenberg.

No. 31.

Two miles below Hall's, Norfolk County,  
Sunday, February 18th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,—

On the 13th, I was informed of the arrival of the French fleet in Hampton Roads, by express from Colonel Dabney. As I knew the British army in Portsmouth



was already in want of forage as well as provisions, it was the opinion of the officers with me, as well as my own, that we ought to increase their wants, by drawing our own forage from places in the vicinity of their camp. To accomplish this, I left as many troops as I thought necessary for the security of my camp, and marched with Colonel Bowyer's and Colonel Ralb's battalions of riflemen, and Colonel Meriwether's battalion of infantry, and joined Colonel Matthews' riflemen with Colonel Parker's infantry. We marched in the evening, and encamped on the ground we at present occupy. At one o'clock this morning Colonel Matthews was ordered to march towards Portsmouth, with his regiment, Colonel Dick's corps of light infantry, and Colonel Armand's and Major Nelson's cavalry. Colonel Matthews formed an ambuscade near the town, and sent the cavalry to surprise the picket, which was within sight of the works. The picket, consisting of a sergeant, corporal, and twelve men, were taken, without firing a shot, and are now on their way to Richmond. A wagon and eight horses were likewise brought off. We have waited for Mr. Arnold, within one mile and a half of the town, for three hours, but as he shows no inclination to turn out, we shall this evening return to Colonel Matthews' camp. Major Mitchell will send in the returns immediately. As this is the only piece of paper I have, I hope the blots will be excused.

I have the honour to be,

With the greatest respect, dear General,

Your most obedient servant,

P. MUHLENBERG.

Major-General Baron Steuben.

No. 32.

Camp, N. W. R. Bridge, Feb. 23d, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,—

This morning your favour of the 20th inst. was delivered. Some days ago I had been informed of your taking off a picket, and braving the enemy in their trenches at Portsmouth. On that day, we are told, the enemy had hardly three hundred men in town. Colonel Simcoe was out in force, in quest of Captain Weeks, in Princess Anne County. Yesterday the Captain, with a few of his men, came into our camp.

I am now provided with a sufficient quantity of round and double-headed grape-shot for our guns, which, however, are not so heavy as I could wish for battering. The troops are in good health and spirits, and show the most ardent desire of coming within close quarters of the enemy. At whatever hour you may desire, I can invest the enemy's fort at Great Bridge. I presume the enemy wish for delay, in hopes that some incident may turn up in their favour.

It has been alleged that provisions are brought from Virginia into North Carolina. I have employed proper persons to attend to that matter, and shall put an effectual stop to any such commerce. I wish you had some bountiful supply of provisions, but we do not complain of any want, though seldom have much laid up.

However, we have a plentiful country in our rear, from which we can draw a sufficient supply on this service.

I have the honour to be

Your most obedient humble servant,

ISAAC GREGORY, B. G.

The Honourable Brigadier-General Muhlenberg.

No. 33.

Head-quarters, Portsmouth, February 23d, 1781.

SIR,—

Having been out of town for two days past, yours of the 20th was not delivered me until last night. Corporal Veitch and the two men of Colonel Simcoe's regiment were received in my absence. It is impossible for me to exchange those men for the three gentlemen you mention, having in my letter of the 12th inst. to Brigadier-General Lawson proposed to exchange Colonel Warnick, taken at Waltham, and two of the gentlemen you mention, for Lieutenant-Colonel Elligood, and the two soldiers of Colonel Simcoe's regiment, which letter, you inform me in yours of the 13th, had been sent to Baron Steuben for his answer; until that is received, I do not think myself at liberty to exchange them. If my proposal is not agreeable to him, the three prisoners sent in shall be returned to you, unless you choose to exchange them for some others included in the list of prisoners which I now enclose. In return, I have to request that a list of your prisoners may be sent to me.

To prevent unnecessary applications for negroes in

future, I beg leave to observe that none will be returned to persons in arms or office, in which class I consider all persons in the militia liable to be called forth to arms. When widows, orphans, or persons not under the above description, wish to have their negroes returned, it will be necessary for them to have their property ascertained, (as mentioned above,) under oath, which authenticated certificate being sent in by any person with a flag who can fix upon the negroes claimed, they shall be immediately delivered up.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

B. ARNOLD, Brig. Gen.

Brig. Gen. Muhlenberg.

No. 34.

Camp near Suffolk, February 24th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,—

I should have done myself the honour to write you a line long before this time, but I have been unable to procure a safe conveyance. As, however, I understand you are at this time on the borders of Virginia, I think it my duty to give you a little sketch of our proceedings in this quarter. On the 13th, I received intelligence of the arrival of a French fleet in our bay, consisting of one sixty-four and two frigates of thirty-six each. As it was conjectured their stay would be short, it was thought necessary to press the enemy as much as possible, and to prevent their foraging in the lower counties.

To prevent this, I marched on the 17th with six hundred riflemen and five hundred musketry, with which we formed an ambuscade about one mile and a half from Portsmouth, and on the morning of the 18th, a party of horse was ordered to charge the picket, which was posted within shot of their redoubts. The horse charged and took the picket, consisting of a sergeant, corporal, and twelve men, without having a shot fired at them; two yagers were killed, three pioneers, one wagon, and six horses taken. We remained in ambush for three hours, but finding Arnold did not choose to venture out, and not caring to risk an action in the night with my riflemen, I moved back to a place of security, where I remained until the 20th, when, having received intelligence that you were hard pushed by Cornwallis, I took possession of a strong camp in the rear of Suffolk, where I intended to leave nine hundred militia men, and selected six hundred riflemen and four hundred musketry to march to your assistance if necessary. Should it be found unnecessary, I shall move down upon the lines again immediately.

Enclosed I do myself the honour to transmit you a pretty exact account of the enemy's force in this state. I must acknowledge it is derogatory to the honour of the state, to suffer such a handful of men to retain possession so long; but what, my dear General, is to be done? They are strongly fortified; I have near two thousand men, but among the whole about three hundred bayonets and two brass six-pounders. With such a military apparatus, we cannot think of attacking the works by regular approaches, and all my hopes at

present are, that I shall be able to coop up Arnold so close that he will be obliged to make an attempt to dislodge us. General Gregory, of the North Carolina militia, is now moving down on the east side of the Dismal Swamp, with about seven hundred men, in order to cut off Arnold's communication with Princess Anne County. Should anything meantime occur, I shall do myself the honour to give you immediate notice.

I have the honour to be, with great respect,

Dear General, your most obedient servant,

P. MUHLENBERG.

To Maj. Gen. Greene.

No. 35.

Camp near Scott's, Feb. 26, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,—

I am happy to hear from Mr. Ludeman that our proceedings in this quarter hitherto, meet with your approbation. From General Greene's letter, the plan you were pleased to send me, and the explanations given me by Mr. Ludeman, I understand the plan of your operations fully. I am convinced it will be in vain for Mr. Arnold to attempt a junction with Lord Cornwallis by land with his present force, as he will be obliged to dislodge General Gregory and myself before he can accomplish it. The only way practicable, and which I believe he has in view, would be to cross Currituck Sound and land in North Carolina; what induces me to think they have some scheme of this kind in view is, that they are

busily employed in building flat-bottomed boats. We have taken three of their builders and destroyed some of their timber, but still they will have it in their power to procure a sufficiency of boats, either to cross the Sound, or for a plundering expedition, although I should hardly think they will venture the latter while we are close upon them.

Enclosed, I do myself the honour to transmit you two letters from General Gregory, and one from Arnold. I have sent him the Governor's answer relative to the exchange proposed between Colonels Elligood and War-nick, which I suppose will end the negotiations for exchanging. I shall to-day or to-morrow move with the main body to a camp in the vicinity of Suffolk, in order to cut off effectually the communication by land between Portsmouth and North Carolina.

I have the honour to be,

With great respect,

Dear General,

Your most obedient servant,

P. MUHLENBERG.

To Major-General the

Baron de Steuben.

No. 36.

Chesterfield C. H., 28th Feb.

DEAR GENERAL,—

In consequence of letters just received from General Washington, the contents of which Colonel Meade will inform you, I am induced to order the battalions of Co-

lonel Bowyer, Majors Meriwether and Lucas, to be put under the command of Colonel Meade, who has received orders to join General Gregory. If either officers or privates should turn out volunteers, it would be preferred. Your despatch as to these troops and secrecy with respect to the intelligence, I can rely on. Colonel Meade's abilities, and his being perfectly acquainted with my designs, have induced me to ask his acceptance of the above command.

I am persuaded the officers of the battalions will endeavour to make it agreeable to him, as I am sure nothing but his wishes for the good of the service would have prevailed on him to take so great a charge.

STEUBEN.

To General Muhlenberg.

No. 37.

Edmond's Hill, two miles below the Great Bridge,

March 2d, 1781, 8 o'clock, P. M.

DEAR GENERAL,—

I got to this place, after passing the enemy's works about 6 o'clock, P. M., yesterday, and immediately sent the letters you entrusted to me, to General Gregory, with a message informing him where I was. In passing their redoubt I found it very strong, being stockaded at least nine feet high and filled in, making it more than as many feet through; of course a very deep ditch, and it is very well surrounded with abatis capable of holding 200 men: in it are four twelve-pound carronades, besides smaller cannon. Whilst I was examining their works



they fired several cannon and many small arms, which did no damage except slightly wounding one man.

About 2 o'clock to-day General Gregory joined me, whilst I was investing and examining their works. He agreed with me that a storm was too dangerous, and would be attended with no view of success. I discovered a gun-boat going down from the Fort, and detached Captain Otey with thirty riflemen to stop her, which business he effectually and punctually executed, by taking and sinking the gun-boat, after killing one sailor, and capturing the remaining five, a corporal, a private of the 30th regiment, and a private of the Rangers. He also took two twelve-pound carronades, several muskets, a good deal of officers' baggage, and all the papers of Captain Stevenson of the Rangers, who commanded at the Fort, and was relieved to-day.

Among his papers were none of consequence, except two very extraordinary ones, copies of which I enclose you. Their contents embarrassed me amazingly, the more so as General Gregory had furnished the guards for the night. He was present when I examined the papers, and declares himself innocent of any correspondence. I hope he says true, but fearing accidents, have sent out guards of my own. I am much at a loss how to act if General Gregory is true. I cannot trust him by letting him know of my movements if not true. I cannot be sufficiently on my guard, being surrounded by enemies. His men are not equipped, and on examination I find many of his men on guard without a cartridge box, and some without a single cartridge.

I am extremely pleased with the behaviour of my

detachment, and am convinced if we come to action they will answer my expectations. Among Captain Stevenson's papers was a journal of their proceeding to Richmond and down. We shall lose all Princess Anne without some troops there; and Captain Weeks informs me that if I was there I would be joined by 300 men, and that the county could supply me. I should have risked this if it had not been for the extraordinary paper annexed; but if you could lay close on their lines, and reinforce me with 200 men, we could directly cut off all their supplies, as they are getting provisions in abundance from Princess Anne.

I am, dear General, with respect,

Your most obedient servant,

J. PARKER, Col. Com.

The Hon. Gen. Muhlenberg.

(Copy, taken among Captain Stevenson's papers.)

"G. G.,—

"Your well-formed plan of delivering those people now under your command into the hands of the British General at Portsmouth gives me much pleasure. Your next I hope will mention the place of ambuscade, and the manner you wish to fall into my hands, &c. &c., and I am,

"Dear Gregory,

"Yours with esteem.

"1st March, 1781."

(Copy of second letter.)

“GENERAL GREGORY,—

“A Mr. Ventress was last night made prisoner by three or four of your people. I only wish to inform you that Ventress could not help doing what he did in his helping to destroy the logs. I myself delivered the orders to him from Colonel Simcoe. I have the honour of your acquia—” and so breaks off.

No. 38.

Camp near Suffolk, March 4th, 1781.

Sunday morning, 10 o'clock, A. M.

DEAR GENERAL,—

Last evening I returned from the enemy's lines at Portsmouth without being able to effect anything material. On the 28th, I marched from this place with 1200 men ; when we got to the forks of the road below Hall's (about twelve miles from the Great Bridge), I detached Colonel Parker with 300 chosen men to make an attempt on the enemy's post at that place, as I had certain intelligence that the garrison consisted only of 120 men ; and with the main body I marched towards Portsmouth, drove in the pickets, and kept them alarmed, to prevent their sending any reinforcement to the Bridge. I left the lines at Portsmouth yesterday morning at 9 o'clock, and on my return met Colonel Meade at Hall's. I returned immediately to Suffolk, from whence I despatched

an express to General Gregory with your letter, and intelligence that Colonel Meade would march from this place to-morrow morning to join him. Last evening I received the enclosed letter from Colonel Parker, who, I understand, is just arrived at the advanced post. From this letter you will see how far he has been able to execute my orders : but I really do not know what to think of General Gregory ; appearances are much against him, and I shall give Colonel Meade directions to keep on his guard and watch Gregory's motions. To-morrow I shall send on the returns you have ordered.

I have the honour to be, with great respect,

Dear General, your most obedient servant,

P. MUHLENBERG.

To Maj. Gen. Baron Steuben.

No. 39.

Camp, near Suffolk, March 4th, 1781.

3 o'clock, P. M.

DEAR GENERAL,—

I wrote to you this forenoon, by express, and enclosed you Colonel Parker's letter. Colonel Parker has since returned to camp, and from his report, as well as from other circumstances, I am fully convinced that some treasonable practices have been carried on by General Gregory. I am sorry these circumstances compel me to make some little alteration in your plan ; but am convinced, were you present, you would approve the alteration.

Since the discovery of the letters sent you this morning, the officers and men with General Gregory are so

much dissatisfied, that I was afraid the whole would disperse, unless Gregory was removed. General Gregory pressed Colonel Parker to assume the command, and the whole of the officers joined in the request; but as I had given him positive orders to return by a given time, he could not stay with propriety. I further thought that it would be unadvisable to intrust Gregory with the signals; and Colonel Meade therefore requested me to permit Colonel Parker to go with him, alleging that your intentions would be fully answered, as you did not mean that he should take the chief command, but to act under Gregory; and as Colonel Meade was unacquainted with the officers stationed there, he pressed me to permit Parker to go, to which I have consented, and Gregory must give up his command until the matter is cleared up.

From Colonel Parker's report, you will see that the enemy's works at the Great Bridge are very strong, and perhaps will not be taken without loss of men and loss of time. Should the place not fall so soon as you expect, I request your orders, whether the troops may be permitted to pass the Great Bridge to Norfolk, and leave just men enough to confine the enemy to their works, as perhaps, if this is not permitted, we shall be disappointed in the main object. Colonel Meade will march to-morrow morning, and I expect him to get to Gregory's camp by the evening of the 6th.

I have the honour to be,

With great respect, dear General,

Your most obedient servant,

P. MUHLENBERG.

To Major-General Baron Steuben.

No. 40.

Camp, near Suffolk, March 11, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,—

Last evening Colonel Senff, with Colonel Gouvian, arrived here, and communicated to me your orders relative to the destined attack. Colonel Gouvian returns this morning to Williamsburg, with Mr. Ludeman, to whom I beg leave to refer you for an account of our late manœuvres; I shall only trouble you with a few particulars. On the 8th, I marched to the fork of the road below Hall's, where we encamped. On the 9th, at break of day, Colonels Parker and Meade marched with their detachment for the Great Bridge, while a party from my corps marched towards Portsmouth, in order to amuse the enemy. At two o'clock Colonel Parker wrote me that he was safe. Upon receiving this notice I returned to camp, in hopes of finding the promised reinforcement, but am sorry to inform you that only between four and five hundred men are yet arrived, and those are totally without arms, as neither those you ordered on, nor those from Cabin Point, are yet come to camp, though I hope they will get in to-day. We are likewise in the utmost want of cartridges, as I have not a single one on hand to supply the troops coming in, and even the detachment under Colonel Parker was obliged to march with less than ten rounds per man. I have promised to send them a supply as soon as I have it in my power.

Enclosed I do myself the honour to transmit you some letters relative to General Gregory. I confess myself at

a loss to judge. He may be innocent, and I hope he may prove himself so. Enclosed is likewise the return you were pleased to order.

I have the honour to be,

With great respect, dear General,

Your most obedient servant,

P. MUHLENBERG.

Major-General Baron Steuben.

No. 41.

Williamsburg, 12th March, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,—

Captain Ludeman has just handed me your favour of yesterday. I have already sent you all the arms I had, and expect they are with you by this time. Ammunition is also gone to you. Captain Ludeman gave me the first information of the arrival of two British vessels of sixty-four and fifty guns.

A brig and two or three small merchant vessels have fallen down the river, I don't know with what intention. When the brig lay off this place, I sent on board and ordered them to return to Hood's; but it seems they are got down to Pagan's Creek. I suspect they are concerned with the enemy; at all events, as all the vessels on James River are taken up by Government, if possible you must secure these vessels by force, and have them brought up the river to Hood's.

To-morrow I shall order one regiment of General Weedon's detachment to cross and take post at Burwell's Ferry; but if you think they will be of more ser-

vice at Sleepy Hole, I leave it to you to order them there. Two six-pounders will also cross ; these are destined for your brigade, and you will therefore dispose of them as you think fit. As they have only eight artillerymen with them, Captain Pendleton must choose out from your command as many old soldiers as will be necessary for the purpose.

STEUBEN.

To General Muhlenberg.

No. 42.

Head-quarters, Portsmouth, March 14, 1781.

SIR,—

I wrote you, the 8th instant, by Lieutenant Herron, respecting the detention of a flag of truce, which left this place on the 1st of February, with my permission to go to Westover, to which I beg leave to refer, and to which I have not received an answer. I have therefore sent Lieutenant Learmouth with a flag, for an answer to my letter referred to, and expect, as you are a gentleman, that an explicit and not an evasive answer will be returned to me. The violation of a flag of truce is so unprecedented among civilized, nay among savage nations, and calls so loudly for redress or retaliation, that I esteem it my duty to demand to know for what reasons mine has been violated, in the instance of Lieutenant Hare, and that the vessel and people should be immediately released and returned to me. If I receive not a satisfactory answer, or you persist to act in defiance of the law of nations, I shall be under the necessity of tak-



ing such measures, however disagreeable, and which I have hitherto avoided, as will teach a proper respect to flags of truce, and will convince those in power among you that I am not to be trifled with.

I beg you to remember that I have hitherto spared your defenceless towns and private property. I wish not to be forced into acts of severity at which the humane heart must recoil.

I beg leave also to observe (in compassion to your people prisoners with me), that I have either received none or evasive answers to every proposal I have made for an exchange of those unhappy people.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

B. ARNOLD, Br. Genl.

To Brigadier-General Muhlenberg.

No. 43.

Williamsburg, March 23d, 1781.

GENL. MUHLENBERG :—

My dear General,—On my arrival here, I have heard that the French fleet left Newport on the 8th instant. I heard likewise that a body of troops, whose numbers I do not know, have lately left New York. By all accounts the fleet now in Lynhaven Bay brought no troops along. It is not yet known whose fleet it is, but I am very much inclined to believe that it is that of Arbuthnot. All these circumstances oblige me to suspend, though not to give over, our intended expedition ;

and I will be obliged to you to keep your troops in readiness till matters are sufficiently cleared up.

You will oblige me by letting me know what accounts you have received from Portsmouth, as soon as possible.

STEUBEN.

No. 44.

Camp, near Suffolk, March 24th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,—

Captain Browne, who has been in the town since the arrival of the British army, has just come in from Portsmouth, and gives the following intelligence:—that the British fleet, consisting of seven ships of the line, one fifty, and three frigates, arrived in Lynhaven Bay on Saturday last; that about twenty leagues off the Cape, they fell in with the French fleet, and engaged them one hour and a half, when the British fleet was compelled to sheer off, with considerable loss, having sixty-five killed on board one of their seventy-fours. The London is likewise considerably damaged in her rigging, and has lost her main-yard, so that it will take them some time to refit.

The marines from Portsmouth have been taken away to man the fleet; and the whole of their transports, except four, are likewise gone to join the fleet. This, I think, will enable me to keep the enemy close in Portsmouth, and increase their distress for want of provisions, which

is already great, and I cannot learn that the fleet has brought them a supply.

I have the honour to be,

With great respect,

Your most obedient servant,

P. MUHLENBERG.

To the honourable Major-General  
the Baron de Steuben.

No. 45.

Williamsburg, 27th March, 1781.

GENERAL MUHLENBERG,—

My dear General—Last night I received intelligence that the British fleet returned on Saturday night into Lynhaven Bay, and that yesterday morning they were joined by eighteen more sail. These, I suppose, are transports, with the troops from New York.

In this situation, I think it of the utmost consequence that you collect the whole of your force together. You will therefore immediately recall the two regiments you detached with Colonel Parker, making such movements as you think proper to effect a junction with these troops. This must be done before the enemy have time to send them new troops, as after that it will be difficult, if not impossible. Should anything now prevent your forming a junction with them on this side the Swamp, you must send them orders to go round and join you the other way.

I am, dear General,

STEUBEN.

No. 46.

Camp near Scott's, April 3d, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,—

Your favour of the 2d is this minute come to hand. I did myself the honour to write you on the 1st, and enclosed you what intelligence I had received relative to the enemy's strength at Portsmouth, viz., that the reinforcement they had received consisted of 2,500 or 3,000. Besides those, they have about 200 horse, and are commanded by General Phillips. From this reinforcement, and the number of boats I knew the enemy had at command, I did not think my position secure, and therefore removed the main body to my old camp near Scott's, leaving Colonel Matthews' and Colonel Wills' regiments, with Nelson's horse, at my old camp at Cowper's Mills, and sent Colonel Dick's battalion to reinforce the troops stationed at Chuckatuck; so that I am now, in my opinion, in the best position this place affords, either to prevent their making excursions into the country, or to keep pace with them, should they move up James River, which I am inclined to think they will attempt.

The reason which chiefly inclines me to believe that they intend to move up James River is, that they landed their horse on the bay shore, and crossed them over to Portsmouth; and report says that Arnold is to march by land, while the fleet, with part of the troops, moves up the river. Enclosed I do myself the honour to send you a gazette extraordinary from New York. The moment

I have my camp a little settled, I shall do myself the honour to write you fully.

I have the honour to be,  
With great respect, dear General,  
Your most obedient servant,

P. MUHLENBERG.

To Major-General Baron Steuben.

No. 47.

Portsmouth, 3d April, 1781.

SIR,—

I have had reported to me by Brigadier-General Arnold, that he has made several overtures to the officers in command of the American troops, for an exchange of the prisoners of war made by the British and American forces in Virginia, but that these humane propositions have been evaded, counteracted, and refused upon various pretexts; and that, notwithstanding General Arnold had allowed a number of prisoners, taken in arms upon his expedition up James River, to go home upon their paroles, the same indulgence had never been granted to any of the British prisoners.

I apprehend it will be allowed, from General Washington to the lowest rank in the American army, that I have with unwearied pains promoted the softening of the rigours of war by procuring, from my applications to his Majesty's commander-in-chief, every possible indulgence to the American officers, prisoners of war; and I appeal to several individuals now in Virginia upon the occasion.

They can inform you, sir, how much they are indebted through me for very many instances of compassion and humanity from his Excellency General Sir Henry Clinton.

I am desirous and willing, sir, to pursue the same line of liberal conduct while I remain opposed to you in Virginia; but as I am above duplicity myself, I will not become the dupe of it among others. I will not consider you, sir, in the narrow, contracted view in which persons unacquainted with the generous feelings of a soldier are often seen. I will, on the contrary, suppose you governed by the openness and candour which usually, and which ought always to govern men in our profession; and under this description I address you.

I propose to you, sir, an exchange of all officers and soldiers, prisoners of war on both sides, rank for rank, as far as will apply, and otherwise by composition, upon a tariff, from whence a general exchange has lately taken place between the British and American commissary-generals of prisoners, under the consent of his Excellency General Sir Henry Clinton and General Washington.

Should you, sir, be under the necessity of retiring from this proposition by a refusal of it, I shall be obliged, although I do assure you very unwillingly, to call in all officers who have been made prisoners of war, and are now on parole, in which will be included several gentlemen who have obtained that indulgence, through my application and otherwise, from Charleston, South Carolina.

Solemn paroles of honour are of too serious a nature

for officers to break ; and I think I know some among you whom no other authority could govern under so nice a point but the rectitude and punctilio of their own feelings.

If you will give it to me under your hand that Colonel Elligood shall be sent in, I will immediately send Colonel Curles out, and conceive the exchange mutual ; and the moment the former arrives, I will send out a certificate for the latter to have liberty to act as you think proper. I am to beg your answer directly, as a ship of war will sail this evening for New York, by which, if Colonel Curles is not exchanged, I shall send him, with the rest of the prisoners of war, to that place.

I am, sir, your humble servant,

W. PHILLIPS,  
Major-General.

Brigadier-General Muhlenberg.

No. 48.

Camp at Broadwater, April 13, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,—

For three days past we have been employed in bringing the military and other stores to this place ; and after effecting this, I marched the troops I had remaining to this place, as I thought it imprudent to remain in my former position after being so much weakened. I have now about 1,000 men remaining, who are disposed of in the following manner. Major Reddick with 110 men at Cowper's Mills, above Suffolk ; Major Boyce with 150 men near Scott's ; and Colonel Wills with 240 men near

Stoner's Mills. Five hundred remain with me at this place. We are now distant from Suffolk twenty-two miles. I shall do everything in my power towards removing the military stores to Prince George Court-house, but the scarcity of wagons will prevent my doing it as expeditiously as I could wish. I have already sent part of the spare arms and ammunition to that place, but must beg leave to represent to you that Prince George is too near James River to render it a place of safety for our stores, while the enemy have the command of the water, and so many boats to assist in the execution of any enterprise they may form against that place. I have directed Major Mitchell, who is perfectly acquainted with my situation, to wait on you himself, and receive your orders.

I have the honour to be,  
With great respect, dear General,  
Your most obedient servant,  
P. MUHLENBERG.

Major-General the Baron de Steuben.

No. 49.

Cabin Point, April 20th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,—

Yesterday afternoon at 3 o'clock, I was informed that the enemy showed no inclination to land near Pagan Creek; from this, I judged their destination was further up the river. At 4 o'clock, I broke up my camp at Broadwater, where I left the Isle of Wight and



Nansemond militia, and marched thirteen miles, to Wall's Bridge, where I encamped for the night. During the night I received the enclosed from Colonel Wills, which occasioned me to march immediately for this place, in order to keep ahead of the fleet. I shall only continue at this place a short time, in order to refresh the men, and if the fleet should move higher up, I shall endeavour to keep pace with them. I have no intelligence from them to-day, but expect it every moment.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

P. MUHLENBERG.

To Baron Steuben.

No. 50.

Camp, July 18th, 1781.

MY DEAR SIR,—

I have just received your favour of yesterday's date, and am sorry to find that we are not to have the pleasure of seeing you in camp, before you set out for the northward. If this southern climate had not affected your health and constitution so sensibly, I should have attempted to dissuade you from your northern jaunt at this time. Your knowledge in the art military, and your qualifications as an executive officer, will render your absence a real loss, not only to your regiment, but to the brigade and myself.

I shall always be happy to have the esteem and friendship of an officer of your character, and nothing will give me more pleasure than to keep up the inter-

course, and strengthen the tie, during your absence, by a literary correspondence. Wishing you a pleasant journey, and a speedy recovery of your health, I remain with respect and esteem,

Dear sir, your most obedient servant,

P. MUHLENBERG.

Major Graham,  
Richmond.

No. 51.

Shenandoah Co., Virginia, Feb. 1st, 1782.

DEAR GENERAL,—

In the beginning of November last I received permission from his Excellency the Commander-in-chief, to retire from camp, as I was then indisposed and unable to march with the troops. I am now somewhat recovered, and only wait his Excellency's orders when and where to take the field. But as I live in a part of the world where we receive no papers, and opportunities to Philadelphia are very rare, I request you would be pleased to send any orders his Excellency may have for me to my brother Frederick Muhlenberg in Philadelphia, who will immediately forward them to me.

I am, dear General,

With respect and esteem,

Your very humble servant,

P. MUHLENBERG.

'To Brig. Gen. Hand,  
Adjutant-General.

No. 52.

Philadelphia, 14th March, 1782.

DEAR SIR,—

By a letter I had the honour to receive from you not long since, I learn with the greatest pleasure that your health is re-established, and that you are ready to comply with such orders as his Excellency may have for you. I did not fail immediately to communicate the purport of your letter at head-quarters, and take the liberty of conveying to you his Excellency's orders, through your brother,—the channel you pointed out. The General's letter is a duplicate of one sent under cover to Colonel Febiger. With the sincerest wishes for a continuance of your health, and a pleasant and successful campaign, I have the honour to be, dear sir,

Your obedient and very humble servant,

E. HAND.

To Brig. Gen. Muhlenberg.

No. 53.

(General Muhlenberg's General Orders.)

Cumberland Old C. H., May 2d, 1782.

G. O.,—

His Excellency General Washington having been pleased to appoint me to the general superintendence of the recruiting and other military service in the state,

I have thought it necessary to make the following arrangements :

Colonel Febiger will continue to command this post as a general rendezvous, and transact the business in the usual manner. The officers sent by Colonel Febiger to the different places of rendezvous appointed by the Governor and Council, are to continue until recalled, or ordered on other duty, either by him or myself. The confusion and irregularity at present prevailing in our line, occasioned by the misconduct of some officers, who have either been absent a long time without leave, or guilty of disobedience to orders both public and private, make it absolutely necessary to introduce some degree of regularity. A board of officers is therefore to sit immediately, and continue sitting every day, (Sunday excepted,) for the following purposes, until the business is completed.

1st. They are to examine critically the conduct of every officer who has been absent without leave, or stayed beyond the time limited; ascertain the duty he was on, and when last employed; how long he has been absent, and whether with or without leave, or such other circumstances relative to his conduct as they may think it necessary to inquire into; and then to report their opinion whether he or they ought to be prosecuted for their conduct.

2d. The said Board is occasionally, as the commanding officer shall order, to convert itself, or a sufficient part, into a general court-martial, for the trial of such officers as it may be thought necessary to prosecute.

3d. As the arrangement made at Chesterfield is found

to be imperfect in some respects, occasioned chiefly by changes which have happened since, the Board will therefore re-examine and revise the same, rectifying such errors as through inadvertency may have crept in. The Chesterfield arrangement is, however, still to continue the basis.

4th. The said Board will take into their consideration the situation and circumstances of the line at large, and adopt such measures for the preservation of the value of our certificates, the obtaining our lands, and other matters which may occur or be laid before them, essentially necessary for the good of the line at large.

P. MUHLENBERG, Brig. Gen.

No. 54.

Richmond, May 23d, 1782.

SIR,—

I did myself the honour to enclose your Excellency a return by the last post of the troops at Cumberland. Since that time a detachment from the Eastern Shore has got in. I flatter myself, that as soon as the promised clothing arrives, I shall be able to equip and send on two hundred men.

The House of Assembly are now sitting, but have done nothing of consequence yet, but entering into some spirited resolves against any private negotiation with the enemy, or negotiations of any kind contrary to our alliances and federal union.

They likewise resolve to exert the whole power of the state against the enemy this campaign.

There are letters in town from General Greene, dated the 6th of this month, but contain nothing new.

I have the honour to be

Your Excellency's

Most obedient, humble servant,

P. MUHLENBERG.

To his Excellency Gen. Washington.

No. 55.

Cumberland C. H., July 1st, 1782.

MY DEAR GENERAL,—

Since my stay at this post, which is now more than two months, I have not been honoured with a line from you. I did myself the honour to write to you four different times, requesting your orders in what manner the recruits should be sent on, whether by companies or larger detachments. The whole at present fit for duty at this post amount to one hundred and twenty-two, and would have been sent on before now, but were prevented partly by not receiving your orders, but more so by being disappointed in the clothing promised by General Washington early in the spring. I have since written repeatedly to General Lincoln to have it forwarded on, and am now in hopes it will arrive in a few days. As soon as the clothing arrives, the detachment shall be forwarded on without loss of time.

We have nothing new from the northward that can be depended on. The French troops are leaving the state, and one thousand militia are ordered out to garrison

York and Hampton. A report prevails in Richmond, and is credited, that the Marquis de Lafayette has arrived at Rhode Island with five or seven ships of the line and three thousand land forces, and that General Washington has taken six hundred of the enemy who were out on a foraging party; but there are no official accounts of either. The Assembly have voted three thousand men to be raised immediately, and from the plan they have adopted, I flatter myself we shall meet with better success than heretofore.

I am, with the highest respect,

Dear General, your most obedient servant,

P. MUHLENBERG.

To the Hon. Maj. Gen. Greene.

No. 56.

Cumberland C. H., July 9th, 1782.

SIR,—

Since I had the honour to write to your Excellency by the last post, eleven men deserted from this post, carried off by some old offenders, who were sent in as substitutes. The most notorious villain of the whole is apprehended, and was yesterday by a general court-martial sentenced to be shot. He acknowledges himself guilty of deserting four different times, stealing a horse, forging a discharge and pass in my name, and of having joined the British army last campaign, but notwithstanding, I am convinced that nothing but exemplary punishment will put a stop to desertion, and that the person I

have described to your Excellency is a proper object ; yet I was very loth to order his execution, until I could receive directions from your Excellency in what manner to act.

General Scott, and other field officers whom I have consulted on this head, urge the execution, alleging that unless the punishment is prompt, it will not answer the good purpose for which it was intended, and that if I wait to receive your Excellency's orders, the troops will, in all probability, have marched, and none be left to profit by the example. I have therefore confirmed the sentence, and ordered it to be put into execution on the 16th of this month.

I hope the proceedings will meet your Excellency's approbation.

I have the honour to be,

With great respect,

Your Excellency's

Most obedient, humble servant,

P. MUHLENBERG.

His Excellency Gen. Washington.

No. 57.

Philadelphia, July 22d, 1782.

SIR,—

Having written you by a private conveyance just before the arrival of yours by this post, I have only to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of the 9th inst., and to approve your conduct respecting the execution of



the deserter mentioned. The benefit resulting from a promptitude of execution, and the necessity of example in this case, serve to plead your justification.

I am, sir, &c.,

G. WASHINGTON.

To Brig. Gen. Muhlenberg,

Cumberland C. H.

No. 58.

Cumberland C. H., August 15th, 1782.

DEAR GENERAL,—

I was honoured with your favour of the 10th of July, a few days ago, and now do myself the honour to enclose a weekly return of the troops stationed at this place. To account for the small addition of strength during the last two months, I beg leave to inform you that after all the trouble I was at in sending out recruiting officers, establishing and visiting the different posts, I was compelled by directions from the Governor, to recall the whole, as the promised bounty-money could not be procured. All our present dependence is on the Act passed last session for raising 3,000 men by a draft. The county lieutenants are now laying off their counties into districts, but I fancy it will be near four weeks before they begin to come in. I should long before this have sent in two companies, but was prevented by a letter from General Washington, wherein he says : “ The present state of intelligence and uncertainty prevents an order for your recruits to be put on the march ; as soon as this is removed, you will be furnished with instructions.”

The French fleet which lately touched at our Capes, is gone off to Rhode Island : this occasions a report that New York is to be attacked, but others think it more probable that the fleet are looking out for a port to refit. The Secretary at War informs me that 350 suits of clothing are made up for the Virginia recruits, and are to be sent on immediately. Among the recruits now at this post I found several old soldiers who formerly served in the artillery. As these will be much more serviceable to that corps than new recruits, I have directed a company to be formed by degrees for the regiment of artillery, which is at present commanded by Captain Lieutenant Bohannon, and consists of twenty-two rank and file fit for duty.

This week's accounts from the frontier are very alarming. The Indians are pushing on and making the best of the victory they lately obtained over Colonel Crawford ; indeed, it is thought that not only Kentucky, but much more of the frontier will be entirely depopulated.

I have the honour to be,

With the highest respect, dear General,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

P. MUHLENBERG.

To Maj. Gen. Greene.

No. 59.

Ashley Hill, Nov. 12th, 1782.

DEAR SIR,—

Your letters of the 25th August and 14th September I have received. In consequence of the arrangement

made by the Secretary at War, I think it probable that the 1st Virginia regiment on the new arrangement, will be employed in this country. You will therefore have in view the preparations necessary for finding a sufficient number of officers and men, to complete the corps. We have now, I believe, about 170 men from your state with the army. I shall write the Commander-in-chief on the subject, and you may expect to receive his orders through the Secretary at War. I rely on your assiduity and attention for getting forward the return of the Virginia officers, which I requested might be sent to the War Office, in consequence of the Resolution of Congress of the 7th August last.

\* The 1st and 3d regiments of dragoons are already incorporated, and I expect will be very complete. The preparations of the enemy for abandoning this state are now in such forwardness, that I look for that event to take place in a few days.

I have the honour to be,

With sincere esteem and regard,

Dear sir, your most obedient servant,

NATHANIEL GREENE.

To General Muhlenberg.

No. 60.

Head-quarters, Newburgh, 13th Nov., 1782.

DEAR SIR,—

Governor Harrison informs me, in a letter of the 25th ult., that an officer of the Virginia line, whose name he

says he has pointed out to you, has received a sum of money for the recruiting service, which he declares he will apply in the first instance to the payment of his own arrearages of pay, and the balance, if any, to the purposes for which he drew the sum. The Governor further informs me that he has furnished you with proofs of the fact, and has directed you to call the officer to a proper account.

I can have no doubt of your not only immediately doing this, but taking steps to put a stop to a practice of the like kind by others. Though I hope no other will be found so lost to all sense of honour and honesty as to attempt it.

It will be necessary for you, not only for information but to prevent misapplication of public money, to call upon the recruiting officers very often for returns, and if men are not sent in agreeably to returns, you may well suspect improper conduct.

You will, as before directed, make me monthly returns at least.

I am, dear sir, &c.,

G. WASHINGTON.

To Brig. Gen. Muhlenberg.

No. 61.

Winchester Barracks, Jan. 13th, 1783.

SIR,—

I have been honoured with your Excellency's letter of the 13th of November, relative to the Governor's charge against Captain Fox, the recruiting officer appointed for

Spottsylvania. Previously to the receipt of your Excellency's letter, I had already summoned Captain Fox to the rendezvous, together with Mr. Mountjoy, who had lodged the information with the Governor. Captain Fox attended, and denied the charge in the most positive manner. Mr. Mountjoy did not attend, but asserted that he had received his information from his brother, Captain Mountjoy. Captain Fox at the same time produced a certificate from Captain Mountjoy, asserting that he had never heard Captain Fox make use of the expression alluded to. Mr. Mountjoy has since attended, and informed me that the only witness he had against Captain Fox was Captain Mountjoy. As this was the case, and there was nothing to found a charge upon against Captain Fox, I put off the trial, wrote to the Governor, enclosed him the papers, and requested his further directions, but have not yet heard from him.

In November only we received part of the three hundred suits of clothing promised me last spring. Since their arrival the recruiting service comes on much better than before. There are two obstacles still remaining, which greatly retard us, to remove which I have frequently applied to the Government in vain.

The first is, that no provisions are allowed by the state for the recruits at the different places of rendezvous. The recruiting officer must therefore suffer his men to shift for themselves, and get to the rendezvous as well as they can; and by this means a number of men are lost, for, after spending their bounty-money, they refuse to march to the general rendezvous without provisions. Major Poulson, on the eastern shore, after

collecting eighteen men, was obliged to disband them for want of provisions.

The other is, that no steps are taken to apprehend deserters, or to put the laws against them in force.

It is out of my power to send out parties to apprehend them, as no provisions are issued on Continental account at any post but this within the state, where the party could be supplied.

I have indeed offered a reward out of my own pocket for apprehending two or three notorious offenders; but, unless Government will interfere, anything I can do at this place to prevent desertion will have no effect.

I have the honour to be,

With the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient

Humble servant,

P. MUHLENBERG.

His Excellency General Washington,

Head-quarters.

No. 62.

Berkley, March 27th, 1785.

DEAR GENERAL,—

A number of the late officers, both at Fredericksburg and Richmond, requested me to inform you that they are apprehensive the Society of Cincinnati will fall through in this state, unless some exertions are made to prevent it. They wish you to advertise the meeting either at Fredericksburg or Richmond, though much the greater number wish it to be at the latter, because near thirty officers are at present employed in that place and its

vicinity, and some of them in posts which they cannot leave. But what they are most solicitous about is, that either the President or Vice-President should attend, as many object to the gentleman who presided last at Fredericksburg. Whether those objections are well or ill founded I cannot say, but it seems that many of them refuse to attend, provided that gentleman presides.

I should have done myself the honour to have waited on you, but I have been so long detained by high waters that I cannot possibly spare time, as I am obliged to be in Philadelphia on Friday. I should be happy to receive a line from you to know whether you can make it convenient to attend the meeting.

I have the honour to be, with respect,

Your most obedient servant,

P. MUHLENBERG.

To Major-General Gates.

No. 63.

Traveller's Rest, Berkley Co., Virginia,  
19th April, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—

Mr. Charles Washington (the General's brother) delivered me your favour of the 27th March. I purpose to attend the Potomac meeting, in Alexandria, the 17th instant, where I shall see the General. Previous to any step being taken in the business you recommend, it is absolutely necessary his sentiments should be known, for it will take all his support to prop the falling institution; to act without that is only confirming its ruin. Whenever it is resolved to be proper to have a meeting,

I think with you that Richmond is the fittest place to hold it at.

When I was there last December, I clearly perceived so rooted an aversion in the body of the Legislature to the revival of the Order, that I by no means think this a favourable moment to urge it. That powerful body then seemed earnest to do ample justice to the disbanded military; therefore it is my private opinion we should be cautious how we do anything to lessen their ardour for our interest.

Mr. George Heydt came here lately, and said you desired him to tell me that the Executive were continually ordering the money appropriated by the Legislature for the payment of one-eighth of the principal of the debt due to the military, to be paid out of the treasury for other purposes than that for which it was raised. I cannot think this will in the end be found to be the case. I do not say they may not, for pressing emergencies, have directed some of that money to be, for the present, taken out of the treasury; but I persuade myself they certainly mean to replace it in time to pay the military, for I trust the Executive are too honourable and too wise to attempt to abrogate a positive law of the state. Your answer will reach me at Alexandria by the post.

I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate, humble servant,

H. G.

To General Muhlenberg.



## GENERAL MUHLENBERG'S JOURNAL.

1784.

ON Sunday, February 22d, set out from my father's in Philadelphia County, on my intended journey to the Falls of Ohio, as one of the Superintendents appointed by the Assembly of Virginia to locate the lands intended for the officers and soldiers of the Virginia line on Continental establishment. At 10, P. M., took leave of my family and parents, and rode in company with my brother, F. A. M., to Falkener's Swamp; from thence twelve miles to Major Swaine's, where we remained all night.

Feb. 23d.—Lay still, in order to procure a horse, portmanteau, and some necessaries. In the afternoon my brother returned home.

Feb. 24th.—Set out for Reading, in company with Mr. Richards, and arrived there in the evening. Here we were overtaken by Major Swaine and Captain Paskè; the latter had followed me in order to consult me whether it would be advisable for him to undertake the journey to the Falls of Ohio, in order to procure some land. He determined on the journey, and set out again for Philadelphia, whilst I promised him to proceed slowly until he should overtake me.

Feb. 25th.—Lay still at Reading, and dined with Squire Levan, in company with a number of officers.

Feb. 26th.—Proceeded to the Rev. Mr. Schulze's, in Tulpehocken, seventeen miles from Reading, when finding myself indisposed, I took some medicine, and con-

tinued there until the 28th, when I set out on an excessively cold afternoon, and rode to Colonel Kucher's, near Lebanon, and ten miles from Mr. Schulze's.

Feb. 29th.—Lay by, on account of the excessive cold.

March 1st.—Set out from Lebanon. Found the cold very severe, and the roads almost impassable, as the snow was better than two feet deep throughout, and in many places blown up so high that I was compelled to break new roads through the woods. In the evening, after a very fatiguing journey, I arrived at Harris's Ferry, twenty-three miles from Lebanon.

March 2d.—Crossed the Susquehanna on the ice, and came to Major Reed's, eleven miles from the ferry, where I expected to find some company, but was disappointed. In the evening I accompanied Major Reed and his lady to Carlisle, where the tragedy of Douglas was acted by some young students at law. A large number of people attended, who were liberal in applauding the performers. The theatre was in a part of the barracks, the scenery new, and the whole performed as well as could be expected.

March 3d.—Lay by at Major Reed's, where I was visited by Colonels John and George Gibson, and in the evening was joined by Captain Paskè, from Philadelphia, which gave me great pleasure, as my journey without a companion would have been not only disagreeable, but dangerous.

March 4th.—Set out from Major Reed's in company with Captain Paskè. Detained ourselves some time in Carlisle, where I visited General Irvine; and in the evening arrived at Shippenstown, twenty-four miles from Major Reed's, the snow still increasing in depth.

March 5th.—Set out from Shippenstown, and took the mountain path for Bedford, which is eighteen miles nearer than through Chambersburg. We breakfasted at Mr. Clarke's, ten miles from Shippenstown, at the head spring of the Cannigogwinnett; thence to the Horse Valley, three miles; thence through the Path Valley to the Burnt Cabin, eight miles; and thence to Fort Littleton, four miles, where we stayed all night. The snow on the mountains was in general between two and three feet deep, and the path so difficult and narrow that we should have attempted in vain to cross it, had not about forty pack horses crossed it the day before, and who now lodge at the same place with us.

March 6th.—Set out from Littleton; came to Sideling Hill, nine miles; thence ten miles to Juniata, which we crossed on the ice; from thence to Bedford, fourteen miles. The snow still continues the same depth. Politics and politicians are as plenty here as in Philadelphia, if great things may be compared to small. I had flattered myself that, as we were going toward the frontiers, we should soon be out of the latitude of politics; but even here two men cannot drink half a gill of whiskey without discussing a point in politics, to the great improvement and edification of the bystanders. Especially so to me, while I stand by incog. and hear the name of Muhlenberg made use of, sometimes in one way and sometimes in another; for were I known, I believe no one would have the hardiesse to mention that name with disrespect, and look at me, for I have at present the perfect resemblance of Robinson Crusoe: four belts around me, two brace of pistols, a sword and rifle slung, besides my

pouch and tobacco-pipe, which is not a small one. Add to this the blackness of my face, which occasions the inhabitants to take me for a travelling Spaniard, and I am sure that my appearance alone ought to protect me from both politics and insult.

March 7th.—Set out from Bedford in company with two Mr. M'Farlands, who were acquainted with the road. We took the Glade Road, and carried provisions for ourselves and provender for our horses; and in the evening arrived, hungry and fatigued, at Mr. Black's, thirty miles from Bedford.

March 8th.—Set out from Black's, came down the Allegheny, crossed Laurel Hill, and about an hour after night, came to Cherry's Mill, thirty-one miles from Black's. This evening it began to rain and thaw; and we find the snow entirely gone on this side of Laurel Hill, which gives us some uneasiness with regard to the creeks we have to cross.

March 9th.—It rained and snowed very hard, notwithstanding which we continued our journey. At ten miles from Cherry's Mill, we came to Big Suweekly, which was rising fast: we crossed it with much difficulty, and got very wet. Five miles farther, we came to Little Suweekly, which was likewise very difficult to cross. We travelled five miles farther, but being very wet, the snow and rain increasing, we halted and stayed all night at Mr. Lord's.

March 10th.—We rode ten miles to Turtle Creek, which was very high; and the ice breaking, we cut down trees, and with their assistance got over. We crossed first, and then drew our horses over by a long rope. We got over in about two hours, and arrived at Fort Pitt in

the afternoon, where I found Colonel Anderson, the principal surveyor, Dr. Skinner, and some other of my friends, waiting the clearing of the river, in order to proceed to the Falls. Colonel Anderson was kind enough to offer me a passage in his boat, which is nearly ready, and to carry one horse for me. I shall consequently keep but one, and have given away my baggage horse.

March 11th.—The ice is driving very fast on the Monongahela, and I expect that stream will be clear in a day or two. The Allegheny seems not yet broken up, so that in all probability it will be eight or ten days before we can set out. This will give us time to arrange matters properly. This day I have delivered my warrants, and those entrusted to my care, to Colonel Anderson for the Continental, and Major Croghan for the state line, and have now fixed everything for the voyage, except a few necessaries which are yet to provide. The remaining part of my leisure I employ in preparing my lines, and trying to catch some Ohio fish, which, according to report, are very large; but hitherto I have been unsuccessful, as the river is still too full of ice.

Sunday, March 14th.—Rains hard; keep within doors. The ice has now broken up, and both Allegheny and the Monongahela have risen upwards of twenty feet. This week we are preparing our horses, &c., but do not expect our boat to be ready in less than ten days.

Sunday, 21st.—Doctor Skinner, Captain Fitzhugh and others, left for Kentucky, the river being still full of ice.

Sunday, 28th.—This day our boat arrived, with 22,000 weight of flour, 1500 weight of bacon, &c., on board.

March 29th.—Still engaged in getting our horses aboard.

March 30th.—This morning prevented from sailing by a severe snow-storm from the northwest. A boat belonging to Mr. Lewis, of Virginia, having himself and brother on board, and one belonging to Captain Ellis, from the Eastern Shore, go with us in company.

March 31st.—The weather is more moderate. At half past ten we set out from Fort Pitt, passed Logstown and Fort M'Intosh, but about thirteen miles below the fort, near sunset, we were carried by the force of the current on the point of an island, where we ran the greatest risk of losing both vessel and cargo. In this situation we continued all night; and as I was requested to take command of the company, we formed four watches, each taking the guard in turn. What added to our uneasiness was, that we were near the Indian shore, and, in our situation, would have become an easy prey to the Indians, who, however desirous they might be of obtaining a peace, would not have been able to withstand the great temptation of plundering a boat so richly laden as ours. I likewise observed how misfortunes depress the spirits, and raise gloomy ideas from causes which at other times would have no effect; for I must confess that I did not hear the noise of the wild fowl, the screaming of loons, the whooping of owls, and the howling of wolves, which continued around us all night, with total indifference.

April 1st.—At break of day our difficulties seemed to increase, but by one lucky effort we at last extricated ourselves, and got the boat into the river clear of the trees. We found our consort about three miles below waiting our arrival. We continued our course without accidents to Decker's Fort, where we stopped a few hours, and then went on to Fort Wheeling. This fort

was built by the Governor of Virginia in 1774, and was during the late war several times attacked by the Indians, and once by the Indians and a detachment of British from Detroit, who besieged it several days, and at last endeavoured to compel the garrison to surrender, by making a cannon of wood, and firing it upon the fort. The cannon, however, did not stand proof, and the Indians, who made a close attack, were beaten off and the garrison relieved. The fort is now totally decayed, and Captain Zane, the only inhabitant at or near the place, makes use of it for firewood. This place lies about one hundred miles below Fort Pitt, and as it is the last settlement we shall come to until we reach the Falls, we have agreed to stay all night, especially as it rains and snows hard, and we have the promise of some mush and milk for supper.

April 2d.—This morning we were joined by two boats more, with families going to the Falls. To avoid any danger from Indians, they wish to keep us company, so that we have now five sail: the Muhlenberg, the Lewis, the Ellis, the Dowdon, and Carpenter's Mistake. As the weather was moderate and fine, we continued under way all night, and at 4 P. M. passed Fish Creek, at 8 o'clock passed Fishing Creek, and at 4 in the morning passed Muskingum, one hundred and eighty-nine miles below Fort Pitt.

April 3d.—A fine day; but as we are without wood and fresh meat, the whole company have agreed to land. Finding it impracticable, however, to bring our boat to shore, we were obliged to continue our course all night. Captain Harrison in the small boat ran ashore, and

brought a large turkey-cock. About midnight we passed the mouth of Sciota.

April 4th.—Cloudy and raining; in the morning we went in the barge to the Indian shore and killed two turkeys, some ducks and pigeons. At 12 o'clock we passed the Little Cannauway, and afterwards passed the Hockhockin, and continued our course all night without accident.

April 5th.—Continued on our course until 9 o'clock, when a heavy storm came on, and we were compelled to come to shore on the Indian side. After we had taken every precaution to keep our boat from harm, a hunting party turned out and killed one buffalo and one deer, but both very poor. This is part of the land allotted to the Virginia line. The storm continued very severely, and obliged us to lay by all night.

April 6th.—As the morning promised a fair day, we set out, but the storm coming up again, we were obliged to come to on the Indian shore. Here we landed our horses to recruit them a little, and rode five or six miles into the country to view the lands, which are exceedingly fine, especially the bottoms. We killed three buffaloes, but found them too poor to eat, so that we determined to kill no more. The winter must have been very severe here, and hard for the game, as we have this day found several deer, one bear, and four buffaloes dead in the woods, which seem to have perished through want. Two boats passed us in the night for Kentucky, and one went up the river with a sail.

April 7th.—The weather is something more moderate. We set out about sunrise, not caring to remain too long



in our position on the Indian shore. We kept a guard out all last night for fear of a surprise. In the afternoon, we went on shore with the barge, and killed eight turkeys. At sunset, the wind rising and the prospect of a squally night, determined us to land, where we continued until dawn of day.

April 8th.—This morning at 7 o'clock we passed the Little Miami, and at 9 o'clock, Licking Creek. The lands on both sides of the river still continue to evince the appearance of being of the best quality. At 10 o'clock went on shore with the barge and killed two turkeys and some ducks; in the afternoon went on shore again and killed two turkeys. At 3 o'clock, we passed the mouth of the Great Miami, a beautiful river, having from appearances excellent bottoms on both sides. From what I have hitherto seen of the River Ohio, and the lands on both sides, I make no doubt that in time this will be the first and most valuable settlement in North America. At present, it is inhabited by wild beasts only, whose music in the night sounds rather harsh to the ear, and puts me in mind of heavy iron doors grating on their hinges. At sunset we came to, in order to wait the rising of the moon.

April 9th.—At 4 o'clock we started, and about 10 came opposite the Big Bone Lick, on the east side, about three miles from the river. Here the company consulted whether we should make a halt in order to view the Big Bone Lick, but on examining the map, we find that we have already passed it. The ravages among the game, made by the severity of the winter, are still visible, as we see numbers of buffaloes and

other game lying dead along the shore. At 11 o'clock, a heavy squall came on, which compelled us to come to on the Indian shore. At 3 p.m. the wind lulled, and we put off, but coming opposite to Mr. Lewis's boat, we were informed that Mr. Lewis and Mr. Towles had gone hunting immediately on our landing, and had not yet returned. On receiving this information, we put to shore again, and kept firing signal guns until some time in the night, but could hear nothing of our lost companions. Various are the conjectures with regard to their fate. Some are of opinion that they have lost themselves, and are unable to find their way back to the boat; others again are as positive in believing that they have been intercepted by a party of Indians and carried off; for my part, I hardly know what to think. It rained and blew very hard all night.

April 10th.—This morning the rain still continues, and we have no account of our lost companions. We have, however, agreed to wait for them until 10 o'clock, and perhaps longer, as their situation must be sufficiently distressing already, but will become much more so if we go off and leave them in the wilderness, and on the opposite side of the river, where there are no white inhabitants. At 4 o'clock, p.m., we gave up all hopes of finding the two gentlemen who are lost, and therefore concluded it would be both needless and dangerous to continue in our present position. We, however, left three men with the barge, directed them to cross the river to the opposite side, and wait there until to-morrow evening, and then if the gentlemen should not come, to bring off the boat. Shortly after 4 o'clock we got

under way, much distressed at being compelled to leave two of our companions behind, without knowing what may be their fate. If they have been taken by the Indians, it must have been by a small party who were afraid to attack the boats, as they must have heard from the firing of the signal guns that we were not badly provided with fire-arms. It is a sharp lesson to young hunters and poor woodsmen.—At 6 o'clock, after coming about ten miles, we had the pleasure of being hailed from the shore, where we found Mr. Lewis and Mr. Towles, who had been travelling at random the whole night, and had got to the river about 11 o'clock this forenoon; so that we have now still three men behind us, who will follow us to-morrow. At sunset we passed the mouth of Kentucky, where I caught a catfish of about eight pounds weight, which came very seasonably, as we were almost tired of turkeys. We kept under way all night, and at break of day found that we were about twenty-five miles from the Falls.

April 11th.—Passed several islands, and now begin to see canebrakes along the shore. About 11 o'clock we arrived at the Falls, and came to in Bear Grass Creek, opposite Louisville; here we found Colonel Clarke and a number of gentlemen waiting for us. We were saluted from Fort Nelson, where Major Wales has command, with three guns. Soon after our arrival, three Shawneese Indians were introduced to us, who had been sent from the nation to inform us that the road was open, and that they were willing to come to a treaty. We informed them that Congress had ap-

pointed commissioners to treat with the different nations, and that they would soon receive official information when and where the treaty would be held. They seemed much pleased, and said they would return immediately and give information to their friends; but expected the great man would not suffer them to pound corn for their sustenance on their way home, but give them some flour. We gave them about fifty weight, and Colonel Anderson and myself purchased and gave them some trinkets, with which they seemed greatly satisfied, and promised to wear them for our sakes. The accounts we have from the southern Indians are rather discouraging. They have two weeks since killed a family, and carried off four young boys captive; report likewise says that they are determined to oppose our surveying the lands in Cumberland. In the afternoon, we got our boat through the rapids, and fixed her about two miles below the town, where we were obliged to guard her, for fear of a surprise from the Chickemogas; we lay all night on board.

April 12th.—Rode to town. The town consists of a court-house, a jail, and seven huts, besides the fort; near the town Captains Chapman and Tipton lie buried. They were killed and scalped by the Indians in 1780, about two miles from this place, on their way to visit a neighbouring station. About noon, was visited by the Shawenese, who told me they meant to set out to-morrow for the nation; and seemed to think that, as we had given them something to eat, a little drink was likewise necessary. I therefore ordered them some whiskey, on which they took leave. One of them is a near relation of Old Corn-

stalk, the late Shawenese chief, and is now adopted by the nation in the room of Old Cornstalk ; the second is the Young Wolf, who is curiously ornamented and bedizened ; the third is but a common warrior, whose physiognomy does not promise much, unless it be cruelty. From the prospect of the lands in the vicinity of this town, and its situation, it promises fair to become a place of great importance.

April 13th.—Came up to town, procured a house in the Fort, where we had the papers lodged, and everything prepared in order to enable us to proceed to business.

April 14th.—Captain Barbour set out from this place for Richmond, by whom I forwarded several letters, one to my brother, one to Colonel Biddle, and one to General Weedon. Several gentlemen who have been exploring the lands on Cumberland have returned, and report that the Indians are very numerous in that quarter, that they are without their squaws, and are busily engaged in trapping beaver.

To the 17th.—Busily employed in preparing for the lottery to draw for priority of location. Wrote by express to the county lieutenants of Lincoln, Fayette, and Jefferson, to procure the guard ordered by the Government to attend the surveyors, though we have very small hopes of procuring them, as the militia seem determined not to leave home at this season of the year, to which they are encouraged by a defect in the militia laws, which inflict no other punishment than to serve six months in the regular service, which at present is no punishment.

April 18th.—Several bears were killed in the vicinity of this place, and we now live as perfectly wild as if we were totally in the wilderness. Bear, buffalo, venison, turkey, and fish, form our whole and sole diet. The fish caught in the Ohio are large and excellent in quality. The catfish weigh from five to one hundred and forty weight, the mushanengi or pike from ten to forty, and the perch from three to fifteen and twenty pounds; the latter is a very delicious fish. As our whole dependence for living is on hunting and fishing, we take it by turns, and I have this day caught eleven fine perch, besides some catfish.

April 21st.—To-day we finished preparing the tickets for the lottery, and gave notice that the drawing will commence to-morrow at nine o'clock.

April 22d.—Began drawing the lottery, but could not finish.

April 23d.—Finished drawing the lottery.

April 24th.—The lottery was drawn for the state line. My own tickets were rather high in both, so that Sciota will probably be the place on which I shall chiefly have my view.

April 25th.—Captain Fitzhugh set out from this place for Richmond; by him I wrote to Baron Steuben, Colonel Biddle, Colonel Gibson, and Mr. Eppele.

April 26th.—I wrote letters to the Governor and to Patrick Henry, Esq., advising them how far we have been able to proceed in the business, and stating the difficulties which at present seem likely to retard our further progress.

April 27th.—Received letters from the county lieu-

tenants, setting forth the impracticability of raising the guard required. I called a meeting of the superintendents, to inform them of the determination of the county lieutenants, and to request their opinion in what manner to proceed. The question was put whether it would be prudent and advisable to proceed to Cumberland without a guard. It was determined in the negative, and agreed to raise fifty men at forty-five dollars per month, to be paid out of the fund. Officers were appointed to raise and command the men, and the 11th of May selected as the day on which to set out from this place for Cumberland. We likewise agreed to carry two brass grasshoppers from this place for our defence.

April 28th.—Colonel G. Slaughter offered me one thousand acres of land within nine miles of this place for the same quantity out of one of my tracts on Sciota, which I have determined to accept, and shall take the first opportunity of viewing and surveying the lands.

April 30th.—Reports tending to prevent our proceeding to Cumberland daily increase, and the motives begin to appear. Many people are concerned in claims in that country, which they have no chance of obtaining, unless they can prevent our going there, and on this account many people here are strangely prejudiced and throw every obstacle in our way they possibly can. Though it is certain we shall be able to do very little this summer in the surveying business on account of the thickness of the woods and weeds. This consideration has induced me to think seriously of returning, and waiting for an opportunity when we can survey.

May 1st.—St. Tamini's day; a barbecue was given by the officers, and in the evening thirteen cannon fired.

May 2d.—Received a letter from Colonel Biddle, by Mr. Trent. The letter was brought to Fort Pitt by Dr. Shields, to whom Colonel Biddle refers me for the news.

May 3d.—I informed some of my friends that I intended returning to Philadelphia, as the prospect of doing business during the summer was rather unpromising. I find, however, that I stand but an indifferent chance of returning from this place, and shall be obliged to take a trip to Cumberland, notwithstanding the obstacles which seem to forbid it.

May 4th.—Received a letter from General Wilkinson relative to Colonel Biddle's lands. In the evening several boats arrived from Fort Pitt, by whom we received intelligence that the Indians had a few days ago killed and scalped two men near Fort Wheeling, and cut off the head of one of them. This last circumstance, viz., the cutting off the head of one of the men, is looked upon by those who are best acquainted with the customs of the Indians as a declaration of war, or as a challenge to the friends of the killed to revenge their death. They have likewise another mode of bidding defiance, which is by leaving a spear or war-club in the body of the person killed, and then marking some trees in a direct line towards their town.

May 5th.—This morning Colonel Campbell, the proprietor of this town, and Mr. Dunlap, of Philadelphia, arrived here from Fort Pitt. A number of people are gathered here to-day to attend court. In the afternoon, myself and other officers were summoned by the sheriff to serve as jurymen, which employed us until ten o'clock in the evening.



May 6th.—Received a letter from Colonel Clarke, informing me that he was prevented from returning by indisposition, and that he should return immediately to his family. We intended to take a view to-day of Colonel Slaughter's lands, but are obliged to postpone it until to-morrow.

May 7th.—A flag arrived on the opposite shore of the river. We sent a person to bring it over, and found that it was an Indian chief of the Piankeshaw nation called Castia, with a white man, formerly a Lieutenant Dalton, in our service. Castia brought a belt from the nation, and a speech testifying their desire for peace. They mentioned to us that the Kickapoose have lately killed five or six men at the mouth of the Ohio, and had burned one man on the Iron banks. The Chickesaws and Kickapoose are now at war with each other ; the latter are our declared enemies, and the war-path leads through part of our lands, so that we have everything to fear from that quarter. The Wiottonons have likewise declared against us, and six Delaware chiefs are now out to plunder on the Ohio.

May 8th.—This day a general meeting of all the officers in this place and its vicinity was called. The obstacles which at present seem to forbid our proceeding in the surveying business were laid before them ; and after a long and tedious debate, it was determined that two deputy surveyors should be sent on immediately to run the division line between the Continental and State lines, and that the business of locating and surveying must unavoidably be postponed until the 1st of October next.

May 9th.—Many persons who were not present at the meeting yesterday, seem dissatisfied with its proceedings, and wish to have another meeting called to-morrow, in order to reconsider the matter. This has been finally agreed to, and the meeting is directed. I have unfortunately hurt my leg, and with my usual carelessness have neglected it, so that I am hardly able to move about. Dr. Skinner has been kind enough to give me medicine, &c.

May 10th.—This morning Captain Chaplin, who was sent out to recruit the guard intended to escort us to Cumberland, returned and informed us that he had been unable to procure a single man, so that we are left to shift for ourselves. At 3 o'clock, P. M., the officers met, and debated a long time whether we could at present proceed without running the greatest risk, not only of losing our lives, but destroying the fund without accomplishing the business. A plan was at last proposed, viz., that the superintendents should proceed immediately to explore the country, return by the 1st of August, and lay the locations before the Board. The meeting then broke up, and a Board of Superintendents was called to determine finally. I find that some gentlemen are very violently in favour of proceeding immediately on this business, and urge it with warmth, notwithstanding all the obstacles that seem to forbid it; and though prudence seems to dictate a different mode, they seem absolutely bent. I confess I shrewdly suspect that those gentlemen mean to saddle the whole burden on the superintendents. They are to explore and locate the country without a guard, and without provisions, except what they can

carry on their backs. They are to be obliged to run risks which few men would wish to undertake for others; and when perhaps this matter is determined on, few or none of those men who are at present so violent, will undertake to share the danger and fatigue. At 6, p. m., the superintendents met, and in a short time agreed to adopt the plan proposed. I must confess myself dissatisfied; and though I like the present plan better than the former one, yet with me it is only "of two evils, choose the least." I wish I may conjecture wrong when I think that one-half will never return; that much money will be expended on it, and the business remain unaccomplished. Perhaps, too, from a depression of spirits and weakness of nerves, I may see danger where people of more robust constitutions, and possessed with less timidity than I am, see none.

May 11th.—This morning at 10 o'clock, the superintendents met and laid off the lands for the Continental line into three districts. Two of them are allotted to each district, and each of them is allowed a guide, who receives the same pay per day as the superintendent, that is, \$5. My district falls into the upper part of the country, from Muddy Creek to the line. My conjectures of yesterday already begin to verify. The superintendents are completely saddled with the burden; and the gentlemen who pushed the matter with so much violence, have already declined going, being otherwise engaged. A catfish of seventy-three pounds was brought in to-day.

May 12th.—The first company, with the surveyor who is to run the division line between Henderson and the reserved lands, went off down the river.

May 13th.—Mr. Keightly and others arrived from Fort Pitt; and this day I have given up the intention of going down to explore the country, by the advice of Dr. Skinner, who thinks that my constitution at present is no ways able to encounter the fatigues we shall be obliged to undergo.

May 14th.—To-day the superintendents, with the surveyor appointed to run the division line, went off to their districts. They set out in boats, and mean to land as near as possible to their place of destination.

May 15th.—Fort Jefferson, where we have hitherto quartered, is now almost desolate. The few remaining families are inoculated for the small-pox, and the water, through mere carelessness, has become nauseous. The people are beginning to get sickly, so that I have determined to retreat into the country for some time, for the preservation of my health. Colonel Dabney and myself rode this evening to Captain Sullivan's station, three and a half miles from the Falls. As this is the first of my excursions from the river, I was surprised to see so fine a country. Nothing can exceed the richness of the soil; and the luxuriant growth of the trees, especially the walnut, is almost incredible. I might perhaps have given their dimensions, but I forbear, dreading lest my memoranda may fall into the hands of the Philistines, who would immediately conclude from this specimen that I was writing the history of my travels, and had taken the usual liberty of travellers.

May 16th.—Colonel Slaughter called at Sullivan's, on his way to the upper country; and as I wish to see more of the country, I have determined to accompany them to

Colonel Coxe's station, thirty-two miles above this place. At 10 o'clock we set out, and passed Sullivan's old station and Kochendahl's, and then travelled on a tolerably plain beaten path, crossed Floyd's Fork and Salt River, but saw no house until we got within two miles of Coxe's station. We were overtaken by a very violent storm, and arrived at Coxe's about sunset, wet and much fatigued. Here we found Colonel Anderson and Dr. Skinner, who had left the Falls two days before me.

May 17th.—Colonel Anderson made a purchase of Mr. George May, of two hundred thousand acres of land and upwards, in which purchase I became a party. This step obliges me to set out for Philadelphia immediately, and I shall start from here to-morrow.

May 18th.—Set out for Lincoln County; took the route by Parker's, twelve miles distant, where we stayed all night, without being able to procure anything for our horses, and but little for ourselves.

May 19th.—Started early, and took the path. At 10 o'clock halted, made a fire, and broiled some pigeons I had killed. As soon as the horses had done grazing, we continued our route, and a little after dusk arrived at Colonel Harrod's, where we continued all night. Made thirty-seven miles.

May 20th.—Mr. G. May and myself rode to see a Mr. Lewis, where we breakfasted. Here I left Mr. May, and went five miles further to visit Colonel Abraham Bowman, who was formerly my lieutenant-colonel. I got there about 12 o'clock, and immediately after my arrival I was taken with the fever and ague, which will perhaps disable me from going through the wilderness

with the next company, who start on the 25th from Crab Tree Orchard.

May 21st.—I took an emetic, and in the evening began to take bark.

May 22d.—To-day I had the ague, but its violence was much diminished. Colonel Bowman persuades me not to hazard the journey through the wilderness, unless I am perfectly rid of it; but as perhaps there may not be another company ready for some time to go that way, and as the Indians are still troublesome, I shall if possible attempt to go on with the company.

May 23d.—I determined to proceed. Colonel Bowman furnished me with two bacon hams, and some dried buffalo-tongues for the journey. In the afternoon he accompanied me to the place where Mr. G. May is, from whence we proceeded five miles to Crow's station. The land at this place and its vicinity is excellent. They have lately laid out a town here, where the public buildings for the county are to be erected. Captain Crow made me a present of one half-acre lot.

May 24th.—Set out early for Crab Tree Orchard, in company with Mr. G. May, Colonel Slaughter, and Mr. Towles. We rode twelve miles to Colonel Logan's, where we laid in four bushels of corn for the journey. We then continued on, and rode thirteen miles farther to Crab Tree Orchard, where we stayed all night with Colonel Edwards. Here we met with a company who have just come through the wilderness; they came safely, but saw signs of Indians on the road.

May 25th.—This morning started at break of day, and rode to Inglish's station, two miles from Crab Tree

Orchard, where the company was to assemble. Part of it was already on the spot, and at 7 o'clock the whole was assembled. Upon mustering, the company was found to consist of forty-two men, one woman, and three negroes, who were armed with nineteen guns, several brace of pistols, and some swords. From this place we have now to go one hundred and twenty miles to the next cabin or station, twenty-five miles to the next, and forty to the one after. The company have provided themselves with pack horses to carry necessaries for at least ten days, and as we have some reason to apprehend danger from the Indians, we have determined to march regularly, and to guard our camp at night, to prevent a surprise. At 8 o'clock we started; crossed Shagg's Creek, where we nooned. In the afternoon passed Great Rock Castle, and in the evening Little Rock Castle. As soon as it was dark, we turned and went about three hundred yards from the path, where we encamped all night under the trees, without shelter. It rained very hard during the whole night; but to make amends, we were regaled with an excellent concert by the wolves. We have ridden about thirty miles to-day.

May 26th.—This morning at break of day we drank some parched corn mixed with water, instead of coffee, and then proceeded ten miles further, where we made the first halt. We then travelled twelve miles, dined, and fed our horses; in the evening we made another twelve miles, and encamped on Linn Camp Creek. We formed our camp on a rising ground, and chose the most advantageous position we could find to guard against a surprise.

May 27th.—As we are this day compelled to travel through the most dangerous part of the wilderness, we march in proper order, part of the armed men in front, and part in the rear, with the pack horses in the centre. We passed several graves where persons had been interred who were killed by the Indians ; though in fact they cannot be called graves, as they only raise a pile of old logs over the bodies to prevent the wolves from devouring them. At 11 o'clock we passed a place where the Indians last year formed an ambuscade within six or eight yards of the road, and fired upon ten persons who were going to Kentucky. They killed nine out of the ten ; the tenth, a girl of ten years of age, was thrown off her horse, knocked on the head with the butt of a gun, and scalped. She was found on the same day by a travelling company, who carried her to Kentucky, where she is still living. The other nine were thrown into a hole, where a tree had been blown up by the roots, and a pile of logs thrown upon them. At 12 o'clock we arrived at Flat Lick, where we killed a buffalo and dined. We then started, and at 4 o'clock crossed the Cumberland River, two miles beyond which we came to a place which is much frequented by the Indians, and not improperly called the "Shades of Death." It lies on a small creek between two mountainous precipices, and is covered so thickly with laurel, that the beams of the sun cannot penetrate at noonday. In the midst of the valley we found the bones of several human bodies, on which probably the wolves had made a repast. I proposed making a halt in order to bury them, but the gloominess of the place prevented the motion from being



seconded. We rode three miles farther, and encamped for the night on the waters of the Yellow Creek, having ridden fourteen miles from Flat Lick. We formed a picket of twenty-four men to stand guard, and kept four sentries out. I had the honour to be appointed sergeant of the guard, and relieved every hour.

May 28th.—We started at sunrise and marched in good order to the foot of Cumberland Mountain, where we made a short halt, and then proceeded to cross the mountain in good order. On its summit, at a spring, we found the bones of two grown persons and a child, who were butchered there last year while they were drinking. As soon as we had crossed the mountain, we breakfasted near a fine stream ten miles from where we started; then rode ten miles farther and nooned; then made another ten miles to a point one and a half miles beyond Martin's station.

May 29th.—Our horses begin to tire, and mine has so far given out, that I am obliged to exchange him. We rode thirteen miles and stopped to breakfast at a fine spring. We are now in North Carolina, and travel almost in the direction of the state line. After we had prepared ourselves to start, and some had already mounted, we were alarmed by the barking of some dogs, and at last a dog with his ears cut and trimmed in the Indian fashion made his appearance. The company, or at least some of them, gave me a specimen of their valour; every man prepared to shift for himself by mounting his horse, while I took post with my gun at a tree, and should consequently have been left alone, if the Indians had come upon us; the alarm, however, blew over. In

the afternoon we passed the valley station, and after we had ridden ten miles, we encamped at the foot of Wallin's Ridge, at a fine spring. We have hitherto lived on parched corn and a little broiled bacon, and the prospect seems not to brighten.

May 30th.—We prepared to start early, but one of my horses was missing. We stayed about an hour, but were obliged to proceed without him. After we had gone on some four miles we came to a station, where I purchased a small horse. We continued on to Stock Creek, twelve miles, where we nooned. This afternoon crossed Clinch River, rode fifteen miles, and encamped all night within nine miles of the Block House.

May 31st.—Set off early; left the Block House to our right, and took off the road to find some corn and provisions for ourselves, as we are entirely out of both. At 12 o'clock we came to Edward Callahan's, where we regaled ourselves with some milk, and got some corn at two dollars a bushel. As we were much fatigued, we agreed to stay all night. In the afternoon I found it necessary to shift my clothes, in order to rid myself of the ticks I had gathered in the wilderness. I went to the river to wash, and laid my body-belt, which contained my money, on my clothes, but before I returned, somebody had made free, and carried it off without leave or license. A very pretty affair, indeed, to be six hundred miles from home, without a copper of money!—however, Mr. May promises to furnish me with any sum I shall want. We lay under a tree all night without a blanket, as we sent on the boys to cross the river, with the intention of following immediately:

but the hope of making some discovery with regard to my money induces me to continue until morning.

June 1st.—This morning started early, crossed the north fork of Holston, and rode twelve miles to a large spring, where we nooned. We then rode thirteen miles to Washington Court-house, where we continued all night. This evening I heard the first whip-poor-will this season; there are either few or none in Kentucky.

June 2d.—Lay by to recruit our horses.

June 3d.—Started at 9 o'clock. Rode twelve miles to Major Daisy's, then twelve miles farther, to the south fork of Holston, and then six miles to Colonel Arthur Campbell's, where we stayed all night.

June 4th.—Set out early. Rode thirteen miles to Martin Staley's, then eleven miles to Walter's, passed Fort Chissell, and rode fifteen miles to Thomas Sayer's, where we stayed all night.

June 5th.—Set out from Sayer's. Rode eighteen miles to the Great Kanahwa, where we nooned; then twelve miles to Hand's Meadows, where we stayed all night.

June 6th.—Rode ten miles to Colonel Madison's, where we continued all day to rest ourselves and horses. From the wilderness to this place a number of plantations are to be seen along the road, but the land in general is poor, although now and then a spot of good land is to be found. The inhabitants, especially this summer, are much distressed for want of grain, and I am told that at this time many families are subsisting on milk and greens, without a mouthful of bread. Here by accident

I discovered the thief who took my money,—one of the servants belonging to the company,—and recovered the greatest part of it. This morning we crossed the Alleghany at a gap where the mountain is passed almost imperceptibly. On this side the mountain is the head of Roanoke, a fine spring issuing out of the foot of the hill. From thence, in the course of a few miles, a number of small creeks unite with it, and the river soon becomes large.

June 7th.—Set out from Mr. Madison's; rode eleven miles to Smith's, from there twelve miles to the Great Lick, then eight miles to Mr. Brackenridge's, and then nine miles to the Widow Wood's.

June 8th.—Travelled nine miles, when we crossed the south fork of James River, thence to Mr. Barclay's, eleven miles, and thence to Lexington, twelve miles.

June 9th.—Crossed the north fork of James River, and in the evening arrived at Staunton, thirty miles.

June 10th and 11th.—I found a number of military and other acquaintances, who pressed me to stay some days with them. As my horses were much jaded, and their backs hurt, I consented, glad of an excuse to stay, as I was pretty nearly as much fatigued as my horses.

June 12th.—Set out from Staunton, crossed the south fork of Shenandoah to Mr. Zimmerman's, thence to Mr. Hearne's, and thence to Mr. Morris's.

June 13th.—Set out early, and rode before breakfast to Colonel Beale's. I found all the family well, but the Colonel had not yet returned from South Carolina.

June 14th, Woodstock ; 17th, M'Donald's ; 19th, Stone House ; 21st, Lancaster ; 23d, Shultze's ; 24th, Reading ; 25th, Trappe ; 26th, Philadelphia.

The following list of the General Officers of the Revolutionary Army is added, as in many instances a knowledge of the relative rank of commanding officers is necessary to a perfect understanding of a campaign. Its preparation has cost no little trouble, on account of the scattered state of the materials. A perfect list of this kind may therefore be useful as a matter of reference.

The first and second tables give the major and brigadier generals who served in that capacity during the war ; the third, a complete list of all major-generals in commission at the disbanding of the army.

## 1. MAJOR-GENERALS.

	Brig. Gen.	Maj. Gen.
1. Artemas Ward, Mass.	———	June 17, '75, Resigned Apr. 23, 1776.
2. Charles Lee, Va.	———	June 17, '75, Dismissed Jan. 10, '80.
3. Philip Schuyler, N. Y.	———	June 19, '75, Resigned Apr. 19, '79.
4. Israel Putnam, Conn.	———	June 19, '75.
5. John Thomas, Mass.	June 22, '75,	Mar. 6, '76, Died June 2, '76.
6. Horatio Gates, Va.	June 17, '75,	May 16, '76, Suspended Oct. 5, '80. Restored Aug. 14, 1782.
7. Wm. Heath, Mass.	June 22, '75,	Aug. 9, '76.
8. Jos. Spencer, Conn.	June 22, '75,	Aug. 9, '76, Resigned Jan. 13, '78.
9. John Sullivan, N. H.	June 22, '75,	Aug. 9, '76, Resigned Nov. 30, '79.
10. Nath'l Greene, R. I.	June 22, '75,	Aug. 9, '76.
11. Lord Sterling, N. J.	Mar. 1, '76,	Feb. 19, '77.
12. Thos. Mifflin, Pa.	May 16, '76,	Feb. 19, '77, Resigned Nov. 7, '77.
13. Arthur St. Clair, Pa.	Aug. 9, '76,	Feb. 19, '77, Resigned Jan. 1782.
14. Adam Stephen, Va.	Sep. 4, '76,	Feb. 19, '77, Cashiered Oct. '77.
15. Benj. Lincoln, Mass.	———	Feb. 19, '77.

16. Bend't Arnold, Conn. Jan. 10, '76, May 3, '77, Deserted Sept. 19, 1780.  
 17. Lafayette, Fr. ——— July 31, '77.  
 18. De Kalb, Ger. ——— July 31, '77, Killed Aug. 16, '80.  
 19. Du Coudray, Fr. ——— Aug. 11, '77, Died Sept. 16, '77.  
 ✓ 20. Robert Howe, N. C. Mar. 1, '76, Oct. 20, '77.  
 ✓ 21. A. McDougal, N. Y. Aug. 9, '76, Oct. 20, '77, Retired in 1780.  
 ✓ 22. Thos. Conway, Irel'd. May 13, '77, Dec. 14, '77, Resg'd B. G. Nov. 24, '77.  
 Resig'd M. G. June '78.  
 23. Steuben. Prus. ——— May 5, '78.  
 24. W. Smallwood, Md. Oct. 23, '76, Sept. 15, '80, Retired Jan. '81.  
 ✓ 25. S. H. Parsons. Conn. Aug. 9, '76, Oct. 23, '80, Retired July 18, '82.  
 26. Du Portail, Fr. Nov. 17, '77, Nov. 16, '81, Ret'd to France, Nov. '81.  
 27. Henry Knox, Mass. Dec. 27, '76, Mar. 25, '82.  
 28. Wm. Moultrie. S. C. Sept. 16, '76. Oct. 15, '82.

## II. BRIGADIER-GENERALS.

1. Seth Pomeroy, Mass. June 22, '75, Refused to accept.  
 2. Richard Montgomery, N. Y. June 22, '75, Killed Dec. 31, '75.  
 3. David Wooster, Conn. June 22, '75, Killed April 26, '77.  
 ✓ 4. Joseph Frye, Mass. Jan. 10, '76, Resigned April 23, '76.  
 ✓ 5. John Armstrong, Pa. Mar. 1, '76, Resigned April 4, '77.  
 ✓ 6. William Thompson, Pa. Mar. 1, '76, Prisoner July, '76.  
 ✓ 7. Andrew Lewis, Va. Mar. 1, '76, Resigned April 15, '77.  
 ✓ 8. James Moore, N. C. Mar. 1, '76, Died in 1777.  
 ✓ 9. F. W. de Woedtke, Prus. Mar. 16, '76. Died in Aug. 76  
 ✓ 10. John Whitecomb, Mass. June 5, '76, Retired shortly after.  
 ✓ 11. Hugh Mercer, Va. June 5, '76, Killed Jan. 3, '77.  
 ✓ 12. James Read, N. H. Aug. 9, '76, Retired shortly after.  
 13. John Nixon, Mass. Aug. 9, '76, Resigned Sept. 12, '80.  
 14. James Clinton, N. Y. Aug. 9, '76.  
 15. Christopher Gadsden, S. C. Sept. 16, '76. Resigned in '77.  
 16. Lachlan McIntosh, Ga. Sept. 16, '76, Prisoner May 12, '80.  
 ✓ 17. William Maxwell, N. J. Oct. 23, '76, Resigned July 25, '80.  
 ✓ 18. Roche de Fermoy, Fr. Nov. 5, '76, Resigned Jan. 31, '78.  
 ✓ 19. De Borre, Fr. Dec. 1, '76, Resigned Sept. 13, '77.  
 20. Enoch Poor, N. H. Feb. 21, '77, Died Sept. 8, '80.  
 21. John Glover, Mass. Feb. 21, '77, Retired July 18, '82.  
 22. John Patterson, Mass. Feb. 21, '77.  
 23. James M. Varnum, Mass. Feb. 21, '77. Resigned March 5, '79.  
 24. Anthony Wayne, Pa. Feb. 21, '77.  
 ✓ 25. John P. De Haas, Pa. Feb. 21, '77, Refused to accept.  
 ✓ 26. Peter Muhlenberg, Va. Feb. 21, '77.  
 ✓ 27. Francis Nash, N. C. Feb. 21, '77, Killed Oct. 4, '77.  
 ✓ 28. George Weedon, Va. Feb. 21, '77, Resigned in 1778.  
 29. John Cadwalader, Pa. Feb. 21, '77, Refused to accept.

✓ 30. William Woodford,	Va.	Feb. 21, '77,	Prisoner May 12, '80. Died Nov. 13, 1780.
31. George Clinton,	N. Y.	Mar. 25, '77.	
32. Edward Hand,	Pa.	Apr. 1, '77.	
33. Charles Scott,	Va.	Apr. 1, '77,	Prisoner May 12, '80.
✓ 34. Ebenezer Learned,	Mass.	Apr. 2, '77,	Resigned March 24, '78.
35. Jedediah Huntington,	Conn.	May 12, '77.	
36. Joseph Reed,	Pa.	May 12, '77,	Refused to accept.
37. Pulaski,	Pol.	Sept. 15, '77,	Killed Oct. 9, '79. <i>at Savannah</i>
38. John Stark,	N. H.	Oct. 4, '77.	<i>during the battle</i>
✓ 39. De La Neuville,	Fr.	Aug. 14, '78,	Resigned Dec. 4, '78.
40. John Cadwalader,	Pa.	Sept. 10, '78,	Refused to accept.
41. James Wilkinson,	Md.	Nov. 6, '78,	Resigned March 6, '79.
✓ 42. Jethro Sumner,	N. C.	Jan. 9, '79.	
✓ 43. James Hogan,	N. C.	Jan. 9, '79.	
✓ 44. Isaac Huger,	S. C.	Jan. 9, '79.	
45. Mordecai Gist,	Md.	Jan. 9, '79.	
46. William Irwine,	Pa.	May 12, '79.	
47. Daniel Morgan,	Va.	Oct. 13, '80,	Retired March 1781.
✓ 48. Moses Hazen,	Can.	June 29, '81.	
49. Otho H. Williams,	Md.	May 9, '82.	
✓ 50. John Groaton,	Mass.	Jan. 7, '83.	
51. Rufus Putnam,	Mass.	Jan. 7, '83.	
52. Elias Dayton,	N. J.	Jan. 7, '83.	
53. Armand,	Fr.	Mar. 26, '83.	
54. Kosciusko,	Pol.	Oct. 13, '83.	
✓ 55. Stephen Moylan,	Pa.	Nov. 3, '83.	
✓ 56. Samuel Elbert,	Ga.	Nov. 3, '83.	
57. Charles C. Pinckney,	S. C.	Nov. 3, '83.	
✓ 58. William Russel,		Nov. 3, '83.	

### III. MAJOR-GENERALS IN COMMISSION AT THE CLOSE OF THE WAR.

	State.	Date of Commission.
1. Israel Putnam,	Conn.	June 19, 1775.
2. William Heath,	Mass.	Aug. 9, 1776.
3. Nathaniel Greene,	R. I.	Aug. 9, 1776.
4. Lord Sterling,	N. J.	Feb. 19, 1777.
5. Benjamin Lincoln,	Mass.	Feb. 19, 1777.
6. Lafayette,	France,	July 31, 1777.
7. Robert Howe,	N. C.	Oct. 20, 1777.
8. Steuben,	Prus.	May 5, 1778.
9. Henry Knox,	Mass.	March 25, 1782.

10. William Moultrie,	S. C.	October 15, 1782.
11. James Clinton,	N. Y.	September 30, 1783.
12. John Patterson,	Mass.	September 30, 1783.
13. Anthony Wayne,	Penn.	September 30, 1783.
14. Peter Muhlenberg,	Va.	September 30, 1783.
15. George Clinton,	N. Y.	September 30, 1783.
16. Edward Hand,	Penn.	September 30, 1783.
17. Charles Scott,	Va.	September 30, 1783.
18. Jedediah Huntington,	Conn.	September 30, 1783.
19. John Stark,	N. H.	September 30, 1783.

THE END.













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